

THE CULTURAL APPROACH

THE
CULTURAL
APPROACH

*Another Way
in International Relations*



RUTH EMILY McMURRY
and
MUNA LEE

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
CHAPEL HILL

1947

COPYRIGHT, 1947, BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY KINGSPORT PRESS, INC., KINGSPORT, TENN.
A. B.

Introduction



The old adage about giving a dog a bad name applies with a peculiar reverse twist to the subject of this book. "Cultural Relations" is not a bad name in itself; on the contrary, it has all the attributes of gentility and virtue. It is merely a bad name for the thing it describes. It is also—which is perhaps worse—a boring phrase. Few readers who are not familiar with the thing itself will attempt of their own choice to penetrate those pompous syllables.

All of which is particularly unfortunate because the thing these syllables designate is more important to the people of the world, and the people of the United States in particular, than almost anything else they can read about or think about at this moment in their history. The world's hope for peace, which is another way of referring to the world's hope of survival, is directly dependent upon the mutual understanding of peoples. And it is precisely the mutual understanding of peoples which the clumsy phrase, "Cultural Relations" attempts to describe.

It is not too difficult to get assent of a sort to the proposition that international relations have entirely altered as a result of technological advances in the machinery of communication. The difficulty is to make the assent mean anything. The Foreign Offices of the world continue to regard

their business, and to conduct their business, as though no substantial change had taken place—as though peoples still communicated with peoples through Missions abroad and Foreign Offices at home—as though the serious business of any Foreign Office were its so-called “political” affairs and its so-called “economic” affairs, with its “informational” activities treated, if they are treated at all, as a kind of administrative and operational afterthought.

It is only within the last two years that our own Department of State has had an Assistant Secretary in charge—at least in theoretical charge—of information policy. The general view of Foreign Office officials, whether career diplomats or men of politics, continues to be the view that the first business of Government in foreign relations is to conduct, with the traditional reticence, the traditional negotiations relating to political and economic affairs, allowing information about these activities to follow after the event and in cautiously restricted quantities. The realization that the development of modern communications has made this point of view and this practice as obsolete as the weapons of the Spanish-American War, has not really penetrated the Foreign Office mind, professional or political. Communication in the field of foreign relations—communication between a Government and its own people as well as communication between peoples—is still regarded as something which it is safer to avoid.

Worse, it is regarded as something which it is *possible* to avoid. And that is the fundamental, the inexplicable error. Because the fact is that popular communication can no more be avoided in the world of modern communication facilities than the dissemination of knowledge can be avoided in the world of print and paper. Whether Governments like it or not, their people will learn of the principal problems which face them in international affairs. It is to the interest

of Governments to see to it that what they learn is accurate and not inaccurate, truthful and not partisan or prejudiced. In the same way, whether Governments like it or not, people will communicate directly with each other through the innumerable channels of print, of radio, of trade, of travel, of goods, of songs, of scientific achievements, of architecture, of agricultural practices, of business methods, of works of art. What is important to all Governments—and even more important to the people of the world who hope for peace—is that the nature of the communication should be such that understanding and not misunderstanding will result; that comprehension and not prejudice or hatred will be disseminated throughout the world.

Governments which continue to conduct their foreign affairs on the theory that the only responsibility of Government as regards information about foreign affairs is the responsibility to answer press questions at conferences and to respond to press attacks where silence is no longer feasible, are practicing the kind of obscurantism which may deceive the official mind but will deceive no other. The great ventilating activity of mass communication will go forward with as little regard for their theories as the tides of the British Channel are alleged to have had for the theories of King Canute. Not even the repressive measures of totalitarian Governments can prevent the flow backward and forward of the impulses, the words, the objects, the reported actions, upon which men and women form their impressions of each other, whether as individuals or as nations. What a totalitarian radio refrains from saying may be as eloquent to the rest of the world as what it says most insistently. There is no conceivable way, short of turning back the technological clock and destroying the achievements of modern science and modern engineering, by which the great new flow

of communication in the world can be interrupted or silenced.

And for Governments, particularly for democratic Governments, to blind their eyes to that fact and to assign the information function to minor officials, from whom, moreover, the actual facts are often hidden, is neither intelligent nor wise. The first Government which puts the Word at the beginning where it belongs, considering that the understanding of the people is more important than any particular negotiation or any particular arrangement, however important the negotiation or the arrangement may appear at the time, will secure to itself an advantage in the conduct of foreign affairs which will compel every other Government to follow its example. One can only hope—certainly an American can only hope—that the first nation to adapt its foreign affairs to the world of modern communication will be a nation founded upon the confidence that the people can govern themselves and of right ought to.

How, and by what changes, the foreign relations of a people should be adapted to the newly created channels of communication is not the subject of this book of Ruth McMurry's and Muna Lee's. Their purpose has been to bring together into one volume the record of the efforts of contemporary Governments to use certain aspects of their national cultures for the purposes of their foreign relations. But because the activities with which this volume deals are activities based upon a recognition, conscious or unconscious, of the facts of international communication, and because the overriding purpose of these activities, whatever incidental purposes they may from time to time have included, is to improve the mutual understanding of peoples by substituting for the artificial image of the State the human and living

image of the people as themselves, this volume has a basic importance to the solution of the larger problem.

The fundamental purpose of a program of "Cultural Relations" in any country is to correct the image of that nation formed abroad by those who know it only through its soldiers or its diplomats or its men of business—through its political and military and commercial enterprise in foreign markets and in foreign places. We in this country have good reason to know how false and defamatory an image of the American people was created in the minds of the peoples of Latin America by the commercial imperialism and military interference and diplomatic condescension of the last decades of the last century and the first decades of this. We have good reason to know also what it has meant to the mutual understandings of the Western Hemisphere, to say nothing of the prestige of the United States, that the peoples of the other American Republics have been persuaded over the last twelve years that we have something more than a knowledge of investment banking, of the extraction of minerals and of the deployment of marines—that we have in fact a literature and an art and a scientific development worthy of study and respect. And we are not the only nation to improve its international standing and prestige through "Cultural Relations." It is largely in consequence of the activities of the British Council that no literate European will ever again refer to the English as a nation of shopkeepers.

The subject of this book is important, therefore, for the light it throws upon the primitive and fragmentary efforts of certain Governments to recognize the realities of the modern world and to adapt to those realities the management of their foreign affairs. The book will also have another and related usefulness to those who wish to compare the activities

of other nations with our own limited beginnings in this same field. But the principal significance of Miss Lee's and Miss McMurry's book is its broader significance. It will suggest to anyone who will read it with the history of the last twenty-five years in mind that the entire problem of the conduct of foreign affairs requires—urgently requires—re-examination. Foreign Offices are no longer offices to speak for one people to another; the people can speak now for themselves. Foreign Offices are offices of international understanding, the principal duty of which is the duty to make the understanding of peoples whole and intelligible and complete. Until the practice accords with the duty the work will be inadequately done.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

Contents

INTRODUCTION	v
1. GOVERNMENTS INVEST IN CULTURE	1
2. FRANCE: INTELLECTUAL EXPANSION	9
3. GERMANY: THE PRESERVATION OF GERMANISM	39
4. JAPAN: THE RACIAL APPROACH	78
5. THE U. S. S. R.: CULTURAL PROPAGANDA . .	110
6. GREAT BRITAIN: NATIONAL INTERPRETATION .	137
7. LATIN AMERICA: CULTURAL PROGRESS IN FOUR REPUBLICS	182
8. THE UNITED STATES: LATECOMER IN THE FIELD	208
9. THE CULTURAL APPROACH TO WORLD UNDERSTANDING	230
NOTES	248
INDEX	267

THE CULTURAL APPROACH

Governments Invest in Culture



“**T**ODAY, science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another,” Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote the night before he died, in an address which was to be his last message. “Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together in the same world, at peace.”

The cultural relations of a people are its efforts toward mutual acquaintance and the mutual understanding that such acquaintance brings. The world’s bitter experience of war in our time has made it clear that peace is no chance growth but must be planned. It seems to be a conviction generally accepted by the Governments which have furthered long-term programs, that among the measures used to build up peace none has proved more successful—that for the same investment of mind and treasure none has proved nearly so successful—as the cultural relations program, in spite of the undeniable fact that it has been used on occasion to further political and military interests as well as the interests of peace. Nevertheless, the degree in which these programs of cultural relations have contributed to solidarity among peoples is a matter of record. The part of that historic

record transcribed in this volume includes instances from many Governments and languages. It is a significant fact that every country which has carried on a government program of cultural relations with other countries over a period of years sets a high value on such relationships. It is significant too that these programs are not slackened but intensified in periods of national crisis—whether a crisis of war, impending or actual, or a national crisis of any other nature responsive to foreign opinion.

It is relevant to note here that “cultural” as an adjective entered the English language fairly recently. It is first recorded by the Oxford Dictionary from the year 1875, when Whitney spoke of “a mere incident of social life and of cultural growth.” “Culture,” however, appeared as early as 1420 when the *Palladium on Husbandry* said—in a reference that might have been to international programs of mutual intellectual advantage but was in fact to the tilling of the soil—“In places there thou wilt have the culture.” By 1510, Sir Thomas More could speak figuratively of “the culture and profit of theyr myndes,” but it was not until more than two and one-half centuries later, in 1867, that the word was employed to mean a particular form or type of intellectual development, and not till 1876, a year after “cultural” first appeared on the printed page, did Matthew Arnold use the noun: “Culture, the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world,” in the sense corresponding to that of the adjective in our title.

Communication is the feature that definitely marks off man from other creatures; according to John Dewey: “It is the condition without which culture would not exist.” Any program of cultural relations is a program of communication. A nation’s culture is the sum total of its achievement; its own expression of its own personality; its way of thinking and acting. Its program of cultural relations abroad is its method of making these things known to foreigners. Such a

program is in fact a self-portrait into which go all a people's creative ability and technical skill and which it wishes the rest of the world to recognize as a speaking likeness.

Cultural relations neither duplicate nor replace diplomatic and commercial relations among the countries of the world, though they may both strengthen and facilitate these other relationships by giving them a basis of friendly understanding. For the cultural relationship is essentially that of friendship from people to people, from the citizenry of one country to the citizenry of another, through such channels of mutual acquaintance as make friendship rewarding between individual and individual.

International programs of cultural relations take many forms and are carried on through both official and unofficial agencies. Numbers of them are directed toward some specific ideological or political objective. In this volume, only official government programs are considered; and of these, only long-range programs established by the Governments with the avowed purpose of making their own peoples' culture more widely known and better understood. Multilateral programs, carried on by a number of nations, as is the case of cultural organizations within the framework of the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the American Republics, do not come within the scope of a work dealing with cultural relationships set up with other countries by individual Governments. And in the latter instance, programs born of an immediate crisis, those of wartime information or of specific ideological propaganda, are considered here only in those aspects that overlap and coalesce with the cultural relations program as such.

Within the limits defined, the present study considers such cultural relations programs as developed by ten Governments. Several programs have been presented in considerable detail from their initiation to 1946, the year of writing: those of France, Germany, Great Britain, the United States.

For the rest—as in the case of the other American Republics, the Soviet Union, and Japan—the pattern is indicated and the present picture sketched. Although the authors have made an historical analysis of twenty-nine such government programs, they make no pretension of having examined all; if the list were complete, it would be a roll call of the world.

The bilateral cultural programs outlined in the following pages are of relatively recent origin, dating from the latter part of the nineteenth century. France and Germany had fairly extensive programs of cultural expansion abroad before the First World War. Between 1918 and 1939, such German and French activities were greatly increased and most of the other European Governments were following suit. Great Britain, however, did not recognize the need for “national interpretation” abroad until 1934, when she established the British Council for Relations with Other Countries. The United States Government initiated a program in 1938, with creation of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the Other American Republics and of the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State.

While the several national programs differ greatly, there seem to be some points common to most.

1. From the beginning, most programs of cultural relations abroad have been initiated and controlled or supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Foreign Office, in which budgets a large proportion of the funds for carrying them is placed. In only a few cases were they initiated by the Ministry of Education, although this Ministry usually cooperates closely with the Foreign Office cultural projects abroad. By and large, the programs have become an important arm of foreign policy.

2. Each country has a strong belief in the importance of its own culture and a desire to have other countries know and appreciate this culture.

3. Each country believes that the improvement of cultural relations leads to better economic and political relations.

4. Each country centers much of its effort in the teaching of the national language (French, German, English) in foreign lands as a basis for better cultural and economic relationships.

5. Each country, having decided to develop a program of cultural relations with other nations, has given it strong moral and financial support. All have recognized the need for a permanent program of cultural relations abroad to carry out certain of their foreign policies.

The cultural activities carried on abroad by Governments commonly include the establishment and support of cultural centers or institutes and schools in foreign countries; the interchange of technical experts, professors, teachers, students, and leaders in various fields of intellectual and artistic expression; the exchange of books and other printed materials, lectures, concerts, and exhibitions. The newer media, motion picture and radio, are used increasingly. It is important to note that the cultural relations activities carried on through official channels are planned in the main to encourage and to supplement rather than to displace the international activities of private organizations, institutions, and individuals.

In outlining in the following chapters the historical development of the programs of ten Governments—France, Germany, Japan, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and the United States—official documents such as reports, laws and decrees, and parliamentary debates, have been used almost entirely. Through official statements of the authorities responsible for the development of the program in each country, the policy, the kinds of activities undertaken, the scope of the activities, the budgets, and even the values placed on the program by the Governments concerned are made clear. In other words, it is the

deliberate purpose of the authors, using the documentation available, to have each country explain the development of its own cultural relations program with other countries. It should be added that the conclusions reached in the final chapter are based not only on the studies of the programs of the ten countries included in this volume, but also on the authors' comparable studies of the programs of nineteen additional countries.

Organized for national interpretation abroad by the various Governments, these programs, in spite of common elements, reflect clearly differences in national character and in cultural background. This fact becomes apparent in examining and comparing the cultural programs carried on by the ten nations dealt with in the ensuing chapters.

Cultural activities of countries not given special attention in this book are too numerous even to be counted definitively. The Spanish Basques, for example, during World War II, circulated in several languages copies of the wartime autobiography of José Antonio de Aguirre, President of Euzkadi in exile. They established contacts with nationals of Basque ancestry—however remote—in the Hispanic American Republics. At the University of Montevideo in Uruguay they created a Chair of Research on the Basque Language. The Government of the Netherlands while in exile and at war included in its radio programs—in Dutch, in English, in Spanish—cultural as well as war news. It showed in London motion pictures on Holland at war, on the Netherlands colonies, on the drainage of the Zuyder Zee. It engaged in the United States, in provision for the needs of peace, medical specialists to help rehabilitate Nazi-disorganized Dutch universities. The wartime Netherlands Ambassador at Mexico City gave lectures illustrated by slides on "Dutch Colonization as a Phenomenon of Civilization" and similar topics. A cultural institute (Instituto de Alta Cultura Brasil-Holanda) was inaugurated at Rio de Janeiro. Docu-

mentary films, with Indonesian tongues dubbed in, were prepared for the Pacific area, including long-range educational films on the Indonesian Islands for peacetime showing. A former Netherlands Minister of Over-Seas Territories was sent out in the spring of 1945 on a South American tour "to extend existing relations not only commercial but cultural"; and the Minister of Education journeyed over the United States to observe and report upon methods in education. Reciprocal relationships were established through many channels—music, folklore, translations, visiting lecturers—between the republic of Venezuela and the little islands of Aruba and Curaçao in the Netherlands West Indies.

Such reportage as the foregoing could be expanded and extended indefinitely. Taken together, it all amounts to irrefutable proof of how valuable, how necessary, the cultural approach of understanding between peoples has proved, even under the hard test of war. In wartime, as in time of peace, no other investment seems to give so large a proportional return as the investment in international solidarity through a cultural relationship.

Obviously, in two-hundred-odd pages it would be impossible to consider in detail, or even to outline, the cultural relations programs of all foreign countries. The authors of this volume, in presenting somewhat detailed historical studies of the longest established and most extensive programs and in giving the pattern of a number of others in Europe, the Americas, and Asia, have not made, nor desired to make, an objective evaluation, but, on the contrary have confined themselves to presentation of the several programs as envisaged by the Governments carrying them on, a presentation emphasized by direct citation of official statements and documents. In other words, the purpose here is to set forth the several programs with their underlying philosophies and with the estimates, according to their several exponents, of the results achieved through them. The wealth of

relevant material in the various national archives is no less surprising than the fact that hitherto relatively little such information from official sources on cultural relations has ever been made available in any language to the general public. The Governments themselves, however, through official channels have always been profoundly interested in all details of the development of their own cultural programs and, from the beginning, have observed narrowly the programs of other Governments; a fact abundantly attested especially in the records of parliamentary debate. Much evidence in support of this statement is quoted in the following pages, in direct translations by the authors of the present volume, from parliamentary proceedings and other state documents.

A study of the following chapters will show, without editorializing on the part of the authors, that a program of national interpretation may be largely non-political in character in its international aspects, or may be directed toward ends demonstrably political. In their plans for world domination, for example, the totalitarian states have relied on cultural activities abroad to pave the way for a complete dictatorship over the lives of foreign peoples. On the other hand, the democracies have used cultural programs to develop the free and friendly relationships between their own and other peoples which lead to mutual understanding and respect and to that intangible, good will, which is a recognized asset in all relationships, individual and collective, whether political, economic, or cultural. But one invariable fact becomes increasingly evident to any observer of such developing programs in action, or to any student of historical documentation relating to them; namely, that they produce results. In view of their increasing use as an arm of foreign policy by Governments throughout the world, no nation can afford to ignore these programs or to underestimate their importance.

France: Intellectual Expansion

BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

FRANCE first among modern nations recognized the advantages of a large-scale program of cultural relations with other countries. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the French Government, through the French Catholic teaching missionaries, carried on extensive religious, educational, and philanthropic works in the Near and in the Far East. Schools, hospitals, orphanages, dispensaries, and agricultural institutions were established in the eastern countries, especially in the Mediterranean Basin.¹

The French authorities soon became aware of the political importance of the influence which France had begun to exercise in the Eastern Hemisphere as a result of this educational program and concluded that it was in the national interest to give it strong support. By the end of the century, France had spent more than 20,000,000 francs to "maintain her moral influence in the Near East and to extend it to the Far East" and considered the expenditures to be well justified. "What political operation or armed invasion was ever able, with less expenditure, to produce such important and lasting results?" asked M. Boucher, Deputy, reporting to the Chamber of Deputies on these activities in 1900.²

From the beginning, funds for the French program of

cultural expansion abroad were placed in the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and allocated through official channels. Each year a detailed study was made of the French educational and philanthropic activities subsidized by the French Government and carried on abroad under its direction. The results of this study were included in the annual report of the Commission on the Budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which was presented to the French Parliament for approval.

After the separation of Church and State, French authorities had to face the problem of replacing Catholic schools by lay schools in the eastern countries and their efforts met with strong opposition from Catholic groups both within and without France. France was in no financial condition to replace the already existing schools of the teaching missionaries with a comparable system of lay schools, nor could she afford to finance a new and important educational program in the West. The cost of providing new buildings and equipment, and of recruiting and paying a trained teaching personnel, was prohibitive. Fearful of impairing the powerful political influence of France in the East by the immediate suppression of the French religious congregations, the Government continued to give them large subsidies at the expense of the program of lay schools abroad.³ In the budget for 1906 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the chapter heading, *Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger* ("French works abroad"), 800,000 francs were given for educational and philanthropic works in the Near and in the Far East, most of which was allotted to the work of the religious congregations. The new schools established, however, were lay schools.⁴

In the meantime, interest in a program of intellectual expansion in the Western World began to develop. In 1901 M. Gervais, Deputy, advised the Chamber of Deputies that there was need for an educational program in Europe and

in the Americas. It was clear that the French schools in the West should have a different character from those in the East. There were many French citizens living in Europe and in Latin America whose children should be given a real French education. Then too, in many of these countries English and German were increasingly taking the place of French as the languages of commerce and as "vehicles of thought" for England, America, and Germany, the countries competing with France. The Germans, especially, had recognized the importance of the German schools and had made of them a means of furthering Germanism abroad. They had also placed many German professors in higher institutions of learning in foreign countries. Because of this, French influence was decreasing and one of the important links in French economic relationships, especially with Latin America, was being weakened. "If commerce follows the flag, it follows for even stronger reasons the national language," concluded M. Gervais.⁵

M. Dubief, reporting on the budget for 1903, hoped for a broad program including new primary and higher schools where the French language could be taught and universities from which "French national thought and the genius of Republican France could radiate afar."⁶

It was not until 1906, however, that the French Government, increasingly occupied with foreign policies, became sufficiently aware of the "spontaneous and peaceful expansion" of French cultural activities in the West to give them some financial support. In that year 3,000 francs were placed in the budget for the *Oeuvres françaises* in Europe and in the Americas.⁷

Because of the very small funds allotted to it, the program in the West developed slowly. A few French schools in Belgium, Portugal, and Switzerland were subsidized. The report on the budget for 1910 noted the fact that in Latin America there were a number of cities which were centers of French

culture. Certain French schools like the Collège Carnot in Montevideo, which had more than two hundred pupils, were growing. The Collège Victor Hugo of Buenos Aires, the French Schools of Santa Fé in Argentina, and the French Schools of Santiago in Chile, "were serving as best they could the cause of French influence and deserved the support of the Government."⁸

Two private societies also did much to further French cultural relations with other countries. The Alliance française, established to foster the teaching of the French language abroad, organized groups in many parts of the world, which, through their French courses, schools, lectures and gifts of books, carried on an active program. The Mission laïque was created to encourage the development of French lay schools abroad and carried on most of its work in the Near and in the Far East. Both these societies were sometimes given government subsidies.⁹

For years the French Government through the Ministry of Public Instruction had been giving strong support to two outstanding institutions of higher learning, the famous French Archaeological Institutes of Athens and of Rome. On the other hand, most of the funds for education in the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had gone to aid French elementary schools, with increasing support for secondary schools (*lycées* and *collèges*). In 1910, one of the most important developments in the French educational program abroad was begun when the Institute of Florence, established previously under private auspices, was given the support and the encouragement of the French Government as an institution of higher learning and of intellectual co-operation. According to the report on the budget for that year, funds for the Institute were to be added to the regular state subsidy of the University of Grenoble, which was to allocate them, appoint the personnel and direct the work with the approval of the French Ministry of Public Instruction.

Both the plans for the budget and the program of work, however, were also to be transmitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for approval. The funds were to be used "for expenses connected with research on Italian culture, for French intellectual expansion and for close relationships with Italian intellectual life." The staff was made up of distinguished scholars, both French and Italian. The Institute made possible regular collaboration between the French and Italian universities.¹⁰

Soon after the establishment of the French Institute of Florence three of the universities of the south of France, Toulouse, Montpellier and Bordeaux, undertook to combine their university extension work and to develop in Madrid a French Institute of Higher Hispanic Studies which would do for Spain what the French Schools of Athens and of Rome had done for Greece and Italy. The Institute was open not only to philologists, historians, and archaeologists, but also to students interested in social and economic problems, as a place for "the study of Spain, past and present." There were also courses in the French language and literature for Spanish students, and in the Spanish language and literature for French students.¹¹

In order to deal more effectively with the increasing programs, a new service was set up in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Ministerial Decree of August 13, 1910, which was called the *Office des Ecoles et des Universités françaises à l'étranger*. Its duties were to centralize all information concerning French educational and philanthropic work abroad, to help in the allocation of funds, to coordinate the work of the different ministries dealing with education abroad, and to improve the situation of teachers and professors delegated to work in other countries.¹²

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not the only government agency interested in French schools abroad. The Ministry of Public Instruction, in order to carry out the wishes

expressed during the general discussion of the budget in the Chamber of Deputies, on February 18th, 1911, grouped all its funds for university and scientific expansion abroad, under one chapter heading, *L'expansion universitaire et scientifique de la France à l'étranger*. In recognition of the importance of university relationships abroad and of the value of a "foreign policy" for the universities, the substantial sum of 172,000 francs was allotted for this work in 1910.¹³

In 1912 and 1913 the program of French educational activities abroad continued to expand. On the eve of the First World War, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave a summary of the work accomplished up to 1914. Government subsidies in the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for schools in Europe had increased from 3,000 francs in 1906 to 138,000 francs in 1913. The Ministry had made it a policy to subsidize all schools existing abroad where there was an important French colony, so that the children of French parents might have a French education and preserve their French nationality.¹⁴

The program also assured the functioning of the institutes of higher learning which had been founded to give university youth abroad a knowledge of and a taste for the finest in French culture. The Department highly recommended subsidies for the French Institute of London which had just opened under private auspices with a program comparable to the programs of the Institutes of Florence and of Madrid. A French Institute in Serbia was under consideration. The new Institute in St. Petersburg was a center for scientific research, as well as an educational center, and was undertaking the publication of several outstanding research studies.¹⁵

In the Near East the primary emphasis had been on elementary education. By 1912 it was stated that there were about 70,000 children in the schools of the religious congregations.

gations and about 3,000 in lay schools within the territories of the old Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ The report on the budget for 1913 advised the French Parliament that there was increasing need for secondary and even higher education in the countries of the Near East, and recommended aid for the Free Faculty of Medicine in Beirut and for the School of Law in Cairo. In the Far East, emphasis had been largely placed on what the report called "medical propaganda."

The coming of the First World War broke in upon these activities. The French Government, however, continued to provide financial support for French cultural activities abroad throughout the war, especially for those in Latin America.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

AFTER the First World War, France, victorious but seriously weakened, faced the problem of rebuilding her international relations. Like all other nations, she had to find her place in the post-war world. Plans for expanding French influence abroad were discussed at length by the members of the French Parliament. In 1919, in the report of the Commission on the Budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the situation was analyzed in detail. For France, as for other nations, economic expansion was vitally important. Believing that, although blood had ceased to flow, the battle between nations was not over, and that "their influence, their respective cultures, their commerce, their language, their thought" remained as powerful weapons which in the future might determine the results of the conflict, France decided upon an intensive and effective program of cultural expansion abroad to spread her influence throughout Europe and the rest of the world.¹⁷ "Of all our products for exportation," stated M. Raiberti, *rapporteur* for the Commission, "the finest product and that best fitted to make

French genius known, admired and loved, is French thought." He added that intellectual and moral expansion was the best way to prepare for economic expansion.¹⁸

France was well aware of the efficient and powerful propaganda used by the Germans before and during the war and was watching their "feverish activity" as they renewed their efforts at the close of hostilities. German propaganda, which had already "entered the combat in the intellectual and economic field," had to be opposed by the most powerful French propaganda possible. The French leaders concluded that German propaganda could best be countered by French cultural expansion—by the radiation of French ideals abroad.¹⁹

With a clear recognition of its importance, a new and comprehensive organization of the French program of cultural expansion abroad was developed in 1920 which, with relatively few changes, continued until the outbreak of the Second World War. France called this a "propaganda" program, although it was largely a program of intellectual expansion abroad. "Propaganda is nothing but intellectual and moral influence and yet it is the most immediate and most valuable means for seconding the efforts made by this country to establish and develop her material prosperity," said M. Noblemaire, Deputy, in his report to the Chamber of Deputies in 1920.²⁰

Plans for the new program included the coordination of government activities and private initiative. Propaganda for "national expansion" abroad was to be made by all the ministries and by all the organs of private initiative. Three ministries were to take a most active part in the work, however: the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²¹

The program of cultural relations abroad, however, was centered in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "If there is one

principle that must be affirmed," reported M. Noblemaire, "it is that the burden and the responsibility for foreign relations must devolve upon the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and consequently no political, economic or intellectual action can be instituted or carried on abroad without the approval of the Ministry and without the control of our diplomatic agents."²² The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had two important services through which to work: the Service des Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger, to carry on the program of cultural activities abroad, and the Service d'Information et de Presse.

In the reorganization of the Oeuvres, four large sections were set up: (1) the University and School Section; (2) the Artistic and Literary Section; (3) the Travel and Sports Section; and (4) the Section for other activities, such as the cinema, not included elsewhere.

The University and School Section of the Oeuvres françaises abroad had a most important and highly useful task, as the budget report for 1920 indicated:

Our letters, our arts, our intellectual civilization, our ideas, have always had a powerful attraction for foreign nations. Our universities and schools abroad are true centers of propaganda in favor of France. That is why the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its agents abroad must direct and control efforts, inspire and encourage at any price French intellectual penetration, in the conviction that it is one of the surest and most effective forms of our activity abroad, that it is, in so far as the different nations are concerned, one of our foreign policies that is richest in resources and least debatable. . . .²³

The three other sections of the Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger, i.e., the Artistic and Literary Section, the Travel and Sports Section, and a general section which dealt with the cinema and the radio, began an active program.

The Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts also

continued to have in its yearly budget funds for "university and scientific expansion" abroad and provided professors and teachers for schools abroad. Closely affiliated with the Ministry was the Office National des Universités et des Ecoles françaises à l'étranger, which dealt with the educational relations with private institutions abroad, exchanges of professors and students, and scholarships.²⁴

In the report on the budget for 1922, M. Noblemaire emphasized "the captivating interest, the vital importance of the question of cultural expansion abroad, which was still too much neglected." He continued, "It should not be forgotten, in fact, that an isolated nation can do nothing today by itself. Its security, its prosperity, if it is united within, come from the security which its political, economic, and intellectual powers win for it in the world struggle."²⁵

In 1927 M. Paganon made a comprehensive study of the *Oeuvres françaises abroad* for the Commission on the Budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His report, which gave a clear statement of the status of the *Oeuvres* at that time, included the following observations:

Section Universitaire et des Ecoles

French culture has always exercised a powerful attraction and expansion far beyond the limits of our frontiers, of our colonies and of the countries which speak our language (Belgium, French Switzerland, French Canada, and Haiti). Not only has French remained the favorite language of the intellectual aristocracies of very diverse countries and races (Rumania, Latin America, the Near and the Far East), but it has recently awakened interest in much wider circles; first in the nations which were recently liberated and called to an independent life in 1919, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, and also in the Anglo-Saxon countries and in Japan, which have learned to know us better through the close comradeship established with them dur-

ing the war. And yet we are far from having at our disposal powerful and numerous "colonies" like those which Germany and Italy have spread throughout the world. . . . Far from addressing themselves to compact groups of nationals, as do the cultural programs of Germany and Italy, our *Oeuvres* try, with complete disinterestedness, to reach the elite of foreign countries, eager for French culture, desirous of assimilating this treasure of new ideas, of liberal aspirations, and of refined traditions; desirous also of acquiring that elegance of expression and that flower of humanism which our literature, our art and our science represent.

Our activities can be conceived and carried on only by and through foreign collaboration. They are never imposed on others as menacing enclaves, but everywhere they serve the cause of intellectual cooperation and the rapprochement of the elite; they create a clientele for our art, our travel, our literature, and contribute, at the same time, to our knowledge of foreign countries about which we cannot have too precise and too extensive information.²⁹

The report stated further that the French Institutes worked in close collaboration with the foreign universities and the local governments which gave them effective assistance in many ways. In Latin America and Japan, for example, large subsidies were sometimes given; in Czechoslovakia and Great Britain the training of teachers of French was entrusted to the Institutes.

The French *lycées*, which also made every effort to adapt to local needs, had had a parallel development. The *lycée* of Madrid, for example, after having established a very active section preparing for the Spanish *baccalauréat*, had organized a commercial section. The Franco-Brazilian *lycée* of São Paulo represented an interesting type of Franco-foreign collaboration, since the Brazilian director was assisted by a

French technical adviser, an *agrégé*, who directed the French studies in the Brazilian national program.

The work was already showing results. An increase in the number of students, scholars, and technicians who came to take courses and improve their methods at French institutions of higher learning, and a larger place given to the French language in the foreign educational programs were noted.

According to the same report, the role of the Literary and Artistic Section of the Oeuvres was "to encourage and to coordinate private and individual initiative, the importance of which in artistic and literary matters is very great." The Section sent books and periodicals to university and public libraries, to French circles and to sections of the Alliance française. The publications were of all kinds, including reviews of general culture for French posts and libraries, special reviews for the universities, medical reviews in great numbers for medical faculties and hospitals, etc. For the libraries of French schools abroad only documentary works and the works of the classical authors were sent. As far as literary relations with other countries were concerned, the Section kept in touch with the literary and artistic circles abroad, encouraging, by subsidies, the activities of societies interested in France, and giving critics and journalists information about French art and literature. The Section also arranged for expositions, concerts, and theatrical performances upon the recommendation of French agents abroad.

The Section des Oeuvres diverses had the task of coordinating the efforts of private associations abroad such as the Alliance française, the Comité des Amitiés catholiques, the Comité protestant, the Mission laïque, the Alliance israélite, the Association France-Grande-Bretagne, and the Comité France-Amérique. It contributed to the support of the French *foyers* established abroad and to French circles, as-

sociations, philanthropic societies, hospitals, dispensaries and nurseries. It furthered the participation of French teams in international sporting events. Through sending books, slides, and films, and through organizing lectures, the Section made the travel resources of France known abroad. It also provided films and lantern slides giving a complete and accurate picture of contemporary French life for the use of schools and lecturers abroad.

Finally, the same report contained a discussion of the work of the Service d'Information et de Presse. This service, established in 1920, had three divisions in 1927: (1) Information for French and foreign journalists (in Paris); (2) A Section for the Study of the Foreign Press; (3) Informations françaises à l'étranger, which included documentation for French representatives abroad for use of the local press. The third division, established in 1922, prepared exact information to be given to the foreign press at the request of the French diplomatic and consular services. Materials were provided, for example, on the economic and financial situation of France according to the most recent statistics, the rise of French industries, the results of the efforts to restore the devastated regions, etc. The information services were, in large measure, kept separate from the services for the cultural relations program and funds for them were placed in a different chapter of the budget.

Between 1920 and 1930 grants for French cultural activities abroad increased greatly. For 1921 the credit given was 19,870,000 francs,²⁷ while in 1930 the credit proposed was 58,745,390 francs.²⁸

In the early post-war program of cultural expansion abroad increasing emphasis was laid on activities in Europe and in North and South America. For 1932, the Commission on the Budget requested increase in funds for the Americas, with the following recommendations:

Credit given in 1930-31.....	2,520,000 francs
Credit asked by the government for 1931-32..	3,640,000 francs
Additional	1,120,000 francs
Credit proposed by the Commission.....	3,520,000 francs

In answer to the desire expressed by Parliament during the last discussion on the budget, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has studied various means of developing our activities in America; it proposes for this chapter an increase of 1,120,000 francs. This important increase should make it possible to improve relations with the great American universities, and also to create new facilities for the teaching of our language, especially in Latin America, where there is so much interest in the French language and where our compatriots form active and busy colonies.

Article I—*Section universitaire et des écoles*—Increase of 1,000,000 francs.

I. A new credit of 250,000 francs for the methodical organization of French courses through our *Alliances françaises* on the model adopted by the *Alliance française* of Buenos Aires which has more than 3,000 regular students and delivers hundreds of diplomas. Each year courses will be established in two new cities; this year in Rio de Janeiro and in Santiago de Chile.

* In evaluating the budgets of the post-war years, the constantly fluctuating rate of exchange must be taken into consideration. Within the scope of this report it is not possible to give the relative values of the amounts listed from year to year in the ministerial budgets for work in other countries. When France went off the gold standard, the depreciation of the franc made the carrying out of any program of education abroad a very difficult matter. For example, in 1923, the credit given for schools and other educational and philanthropic activities abroad by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was raised to 25,862,000 francs but at the exchange rate of the time it amounted to only about 8,000,000 gold francs. Later, according to the report on the budget for 1927, when the cost of living had increased greatly, and when a large number of European nations had returned to the gold standard, the French exchange had fallen in relation to that of several of the nations in Europe and the gold value of the credit given to the section on educational activities in the budget had been reduced nearly 50 per cent.

II. A credit of 100,000 francs for the support of a higher institute for the study of American culture in Mexico. . . . This institution should give a new impetus to the study, in France, of the ancient American civilizations.

III. A new credit of 100,000 francs for the *lycée* of Montevideo, which has 1,000 pupils, making possible the organization of its advanced classes, and the increase of its teaching staff. The *lycée*, up to this time, has received a subsidy of only 100,000 francs. It must increase the size of its buildings, which have become too small because of this development.

IV. Credit of 100,000 francs for the Franco-Brazilian *lycée* of São Paulo of Brazil, making it possible to establish two new teaching positions for French professors.²⁹

The rest of the funds provided for the *Oeuvres françaises en Amérique* for 1932 were to be given for activities in North America. The proposed budget for the United States included the following items:

V. A credit of 100,000 francs for sending school books, teaching materials and documentary films to French professors delegated for service in the universities and colleges in the United States. There are nearly 100 of these professors.

VI. A credit of 100,000 fr. for Franco-American University exchanges and the sending of professors to universities in the United States.

VII. A subsidy of 100,000 fr. for the *Maison française* of Columbia University, New York: this house will have a library and a center of information about France, like those already established in other European countries.

VIII. A subsidy of 50,000 fr. for the French center of the University of Chicago. The establishment of the same kind of a center . . . in the Middle West where the study of our language and culture has had such a great development.

IX. A subsidy of 50,000 fr. to send prize books to the Franco-American schools in the East of the United States. . . .

X. A subsidy of 50,000 fr. for the *Collège des Maristes* of San Francisco which, at the request of the French colony established in this city, has developed secondary classes to meet the needs of our compatriots. . . .⁸⁰

The importance of welcoming students from the United States and of giving them opportunities to become acquainted with French life and with French families was emphasized. Some 20,000 fr. were given to facilitate this.

From 1933 to the Outbreak of the Second World War

The need for a more extensive and effective propaganda service abroad grew as tensions continued to increase in Europe. Most of the report of the Commission on the Budget for 1933 was devoted to a study of the French program of cultural relations abroad. Reflecting the changing conditions and attitudes of the later post-war years in Europe, when hopes for peace were rapidly diminishing and when many French leaders recognized the terrible dangers inherent in the European situation, the French authorities turned again to a program of intellectual and cultural expansion abroad as one of the best means for combating disaster.

M. Dariac, reporting for the Commission in 1933, began the report with the following words:

War, as the experience of the last years proves, does not end with the treaties of peace. Long afterward it continues its ravages, weakens nations, unbalances budgets, corrupts morals, overthrows constitutions, causes the international current of exchange to stagnate, and paralyzes labor. In the course of the fifteen years which have just passed, the world has undergone greater changes than have been recorded in more than one hundred years. The center of gravity of the country has been displaced.⁸¹

He went on to describe in some detail the propaganda services of other great European Powers and asked for a new and constructive plan for French propaganda abroad. Stat-

ing that there never was a time when it was more necessary to make France known abroad, he concluded that many of the misunderstandings that had recently arisen, like those with the United States, were due to the fact that foreign peoples were not sufficiently informed about France. M. Dariac quoted Napoleon's words at St. Helena, "I have been forced to conquer Europe by the sword; he who comes after me will conquer it by the spirit. For the spirit is always more powerful than the sword." Dariac added that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had this spirit in trust, and it must be given means to radiate abroad.³²

The extensive program planned at that time by the Commission was never realized, and in the next few years the situation for the *Oeuvres* became even more difficult because of the financial crisis through which France was passing. When the plans for the 1937 budget were set up, the following groupings of expenditures were suggested for the *Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger*:

Art. 1. University and school section	40,400,000 fr.
Art. 2. Section on French books and French art abroad—	
a. Sending French books abroad	
1,000,000 fr.	
b. French artistic expansion abroad	
1,000,000 fr.	2,000,000 fr.
Art. 3. Section of other activities (the great associations for intellectual expansion, the Franco-foreign friendly societies, the French colonies abroad, etc.)	2,400,000 fr.
Art. 4. (new) Expenses in France for scholars, lecturers, reception of artists, scholars, writers and foreign students	200,000 fr.
Total	45,000,000 ³³

Within these groups, returning to geographical order, the following table shows how the funds were allocated:

	<i>Designation of Funds</i>	<i>Credits given</i>	<i>Credits asked</i>
Art. 1.	<i>University and School</i>	<i>in 1936</i>	<i>for in 1937</i>
	<i>Section.</i>		
	a. Europe	11,478,400 fr.	15,500,400 fr.
	b. Syria and Lebanon	9,042,050 "	9,300,000 "
	c. The Near East . . .	7,522,300 "	9,799,600 "
	d. The Far East	2,280,000 "	2,300,000 "
	e. America	3,700,000 "	3,500,000 "
Art. 2.	<i>Section on French books</i>		
	<i>and French art abroad.</i>		
	a. Europe	750,000 "	1,400,000 "
	b. Syria and Lebanon	25,000 "	50,000 "
	c. The Near East . . .	65,000 "	100,000 "
	d. The Far East	40,000 "	50,000 "
	e. America	1,100,000 "	1,400,000 "
Art. 3.	<i>Section for other ac-</i>		
	<i>tivities.</i>		
	a. Europe	1,360,000 "	1,850,000 "
	b. Syria and Lebanon	1,360,000 "	50,000 "
	c. The Near East . . .	45,000 "	100,000 "
	d. The Far East	20,000 "	50,000 "
	e. America	35,000 "	350,000 " ³⁴

The increased amounts asked for the Oeuvres françaises abroad for 1937 were indispensable, said M. Archimbaud:

For many months our educational works abroad have been in a critical situation. In all countries where they have been carried on, they have had to answer the redoubled efforts of a German and Italian propaganda which has had large funds available, which has neglected no means of forcing itself upon the public and which has made every effort to win the younger generation

to its cause. We need only say that the last Italian budget contained for cultural expansion a sum of nearly 70,000,000 francs.³⁵

Germany also was using "great liberality" in giving German scientific works to foreign libraries, in founding new institutes, new reviews, new newspapers abroad. In the Balkans and in the northern countries she was working to spread German culture by sending German professors to foreign universities.

Everywhere, this intellectual propaganda appears not only in competition, but in open battle with our own. Already, in several countries whose students attended regularly our institutes and our schools, we have noted in the youth a disturbing tendency to turn to another culture and another political ideal. It cannot be denied that we are losing ground rapidly in Belgium, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and even Czechoslovakia. . . .³⁶

France had, in 1936, a strong network of educational institutions abroad; thirty French Institutes, twenty *lycées*, twenty French schools, several hundred professors on leave abroad, at the service of the foreign Governments, and French courses set up in most of the large cities.

In supporting a much wider program for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs instead of the program of retrenchment asked by the Government, M. Archimbaud said that it was a dangerous time to reduce the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The true mission of the Ministry, which has been forgotten, is not an administrative one. In the present situation in Europe it is a mission of National Defense. It is through the shortage of personnel that the unsatisfactory character of certain services can be explained, the gaps, the delayed information, and primarily the inferiority of the program of expansion of French

culture in other countries. As a result there is grave danger to our foreign policies, especially since Germany and Italy have been making unprecedented efforts to extend their influence abroad.

The reports of our agents, the impressions brought back by Frenchmen, especially Members of Parlement traveling beyond our frontiers, even the confidences of our best foreign friends, leave no doubt of the urgency and of the importance of the work which must be undertaken to defend both French interests and the cause of peace.

At a time when it is necessary for us to make the greatest sacrifices for the Army, the Navy, and military aviation, to prepare for a war which may be imposed upon us, there should be no penury in giving to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the outpost of National Defense, the necessary means to safeguard peace.³⁷

Survey of French Cultural Activities Abroad in 1937

The scope of the French cultural activities abroad in 1937 was clearly indicated in a comprehensive statement made by the Commission on the Budget in its report for 1938.³⁸

Of all their educational activities abroad the French were most proud of their French Institutes, "those important institutions of higher learning which have become true organs of collaboration, of exchange, of understanding between France and other countries." By 1937 a new Institute had been established at Stockholm with great success, and another at Kaunas. A center of higher studies had been set up at Krakow.

The French Institute of London was extending its activity to a large number of cities in the United Kingdom, and the new *lycée* had nearly five hundred pupils. The French Institute of Higher Studies, at Athens, had more than a thousand pupils. The Institutes of Praha and Warsaw, whose work was in the scientific and technical fields where "French effort was often less well known and insufficiently appreciated," had had a remarkable development during the year. The Institute

at Bucharest, recently established in a large and comfortable building, was moving in the same direction. The French Institutes of Sofia and Belgrade also had new quarters.

The foreign universities continued to call upon distinguished French professors; a professorship of French civilization was established at Jerusalem; the universities of Sao Paulo, of Porto Alegre, and of Bahia again increased the number of their French professors. The great North American universities were also asking for more French scholars on their faculties.

The university missions and the French professors abroad were very active in the universities. New Governments, especially the Lithuanian Government, had requested French professors to develop a program for teaching the language in their *lycées*. In Belgrade, a French section was organized in one of the principal *lycées* in the city. Russia also was making plans to call upon a group of French university professors to take charge of the training of teachers of French in the U.S.S.R.

The *lycées* everywhere had more pupils than they could take care of. At Tallinn, owing to the collaboration of the Esthonian Government, the *lycée* had a new building which could house five hundred pupils. In Riga and in Warsaw, efforts were being made to get larger quarters for the increasing numbers of pupils. The secondary courses at Salonika were reorganized. The French gymnasium at Praha had set up a branch and a preparatory school at Brno. "The development of scientific and technical education and the organization of new laboratories is continuing in the *lycées* of the French Mission laïque of Egypt and Syria," added M. Archimbaud, who had prepared the report. "The French *lycée* of New York, with generous American help, is going to have larger buildings. In Latin America the flourishing *lycée* of Montevideo is inaugurating its new buildings in the spring. The young and flourishing *collèges* of Bogotá, Santiago,

Buenos Aires, and São Paulo are requesting new French personnel in organizing the preparation for the *baccalauréat*.”³⁹

The increased funds given in 1937 allowed for more grants to bring foreign students to the French universities and Institutes. These grants were supplemented by scholarships to allow future teachers of French to take vacation courses at French universities. More than four hundred of these grants were given.

The report also stated that an effort was being made to establish model French libraries in provincial cities, especially in central and eastern Europe and in Latin American countries. French professors were located in these smaller centers. It seemed advisable not to limit French intellectual expansion to the large cities but to extend it as well to those of less importance.

The Section on French Books and French Art Abroad had also made much progress. Each year the Section had a double task, which was described as follows:

On one hand, to place at the disposal of the students of the great foreign universities the works and the discoveries of the French scientists, to furnish to public libraries and to French and Franco-foreign circles popular scientific works and to make them available to the public so that they may follow in our literary production the reflection of our intellectual, social, and political interests; on the other to encourage the study of the French language by making available to the youth of foreign countries attractive books which will familiarize them with the masterpieces of our classical and modern literature.⁴⁰

The Section fulfilled the first part of its task by giving library books, prize books (for schools), free subscriptions to scientific and literary reviews, memberships in certain associations interested in making French books known abroad, and by sending abroad as lecturers distinguished authorities on the most varied subjects.

On the other hand this Section made every effort to make known abroad the artistic riches of the past as well as the present creative genius of France. To carry out this program the Section delegated its powers to the Association française d'action artistique and put at its disposal the credits which it had for this purpose.

The activity of the Association was shown in the organization abroad, under the most careful control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of exhibitions of painting or sculpture, of musical or theatrical tours, and of participation in international demonstrations.

The Section for Other Activities also had an important increase in its work during 1937. One of the essential tasks of the Section was to increase the distribution of French films abroad. Through continued effort the French films were beginning to have some advantage over other films abroad, especially in Sweden where they had supplemented German films and in the United States where seventeen films were distributed in 1937.

The report continued:

Radio. This year a new survey was made through the efforts of this Section in all countries. In each of these countries technicians provided very precise and objective information which made it possible for the radio transmission services of the Ministry of Posts, Telegraph, and Telephones to make up an excellently documented *dossier* on the zones of influence of the different French Posts.

The Section encourages the organization of French programs at the local Posts abroad. In this way it helped the French Institute at Lisbon to establish a French "hour" each week at the radio station in this city. It also furnished French music disks for some of the foreign stations. . . .

Travel. In so far as travel is concerned the Section continued to work in close collaboration with the services of the *Commissariat*

général; sending travel material abroad, making efforts to counteract certain propaganda directed against travel in France. In addition this year the Exposition gave an opportunity for the organization of trips to Paris for a large number of tourists.⁴¹

The increase in the credits given in the budget made it possible to give larger subsidies to such associations as the *Alliance française*, the *Mission laïque*, and the Franco-foreign associations.

At the close of the study of the *Oeuvres françaises* abroad in 1937 M. Archimbaud made the following statement: "The magnitude of the effort undertaken can be seen clearly, but this effort must not diminish, whatever the financial difficulties of the moment may be. We must understand that one of the essential parts of the destiny of France is played in the intellectual realm. It would be folly to compromise, in this realm, our intellectual expansion and our future."⁴²

In 1937 the grant for French cultural activities abroad was 57,599,100 francs. For 1938 a grant of 70,358,200 was proposed.

The French program of "intellectual and moral expansion" abroad was continued throughout the difficult period preceding the invasion of Poland. Even after the war had begun, in December, 1939, both the Chamber and the Senate voted against a reduction of 5,000,000 francs recommended because of the decrease in some of the cultural activities and the disappearance of others.⁴³

1940-1945

AFTER the German invasion of France, the reorganized French state under the Vichy Government continued to place in its budget large amounts for cultural expansion abroad. According to the *Journal Officiel de l'Etat français* of January 1, 1942, the sum of 88,075,000 francs was allocated

for the *Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger*.⁴⁴ In 1944 of a total budget of 375,305,000 francs for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 80,813,000 francs—approximately 21 per cent of the total—were destined for the *Oeuvres françaises*.⁴⁵ It was clear that the Vichy Government wished to keep its cultural contact with the outside world.

In the meantime a number of French cultural activities were initiated by French men and women who, fleeing from occupied Europe, had taken refuge in neutral and allied countries. In New York, for example, French refugee scholars had much to do with the founding of the *Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes* in 1940-41. The *Ecole Libre*, with a staff of distinguished French and Belgian scholars, has been carrying on an important program of cultural relations. In several of the Latin American countries French Institutes or cultural associations were established. French professors found positions in universities in a number of foreign countries.

Many French nationals who spent the war years in Great Britain took an active part in the program of cultural co-operation which the British, through the British Council and the Board of Education, carried on with the hundreds of foreigners living within the United Kingdom. The French Institute in London, which before the war had been subsidized by the French Government, was able to continue many of its activities through a grant from the British Council, and served as a center for French cultural activity in Great Britain.

Soon after the French Committee of National Liberation was formed in Algiers, it began to carry on a small program of cultural relations with other countries. Its cultural contacts abroad began to widen as sympathy for and understanding of its program developed. The Commission of Education of the French Committee of National Liberation represented the French Government at the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London which, for the duration of

the war, worked on plans for the rehabilitation of Europe as well as for the establishment of an international educational and cultural organization.

THE POST-WAR PROGRAM

AFTER the liberation of France the French Provisional Government soon took steps toward developing a powerful cultural relations program through which to regain French cultural prestige abroad. In the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 1945, published in the *Journal Officiel* of April 3, 1945, the important sum of 460,836,000 francs was allocated to the Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger. This was approximately 36 per cent of the total budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which amounted to 1,277,581,000 francs for the same year.⁴⁶

The determination of the French Government to strengthen and to increase the place of the French language and culture in the world was made clear in the report on the budget for that year which discussed the use of these increased funds. A Direction des Relations culturelles with greatly increased budget and personnel had been organized to replace the former Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger. According to the report, this was in line with the powerful efforts which the Allies, England, the Soviet Union, and the United States, were already making to "assure the development of their educational, intellectual, literary, artistic, scientific and technical relations in all parts of the globe."⁴⁷

France must give the fullest response to the strong desire of other nations for a knowledge of her civilization. While the war continued, French culture was the only field in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could carry on a really important policy. It was essential, therefore, stated the report, to direct this effort toward the development of the institutions which taught the French language and civilization

throughout the world; toward the creation of a vast machinery for an exchange of men with all kinds of techniques and skills between France and the United Nations, and toward a policy for sending books throughout the entire world.

One question which was especially brought to the attention of the Assembly was the appointment of cultural advisers to posts in the embassies and legations in many parts of the world. These advisers did not exist before the war, but the French National Committee in London had taken the initiative of appointing several of them and they had served French thought and culture worthily abroad. Cultural advisers or attachés should represent the best of French culture, the report continued. Instead of setting up a regular category of government officials for these new functions, French professors and intellectuals on leave for a certain period should be appointed.

In accordance with the higher cultural policy envisaged by the Ministry, it was true French thought which must be worthily represented in all countries, large and small. "The France which is beloved in the world and which the modern world needs is the France of the French Revolution and the rights of men," the report concluded, and added that the entire spirit of Vichy, wherever it was able to influence the *Oeuvres françaises* in any country, must be totally eradicated.⁴⁸

The budget for 1945 included more than 110 million francs to build or purchase new buildings or to restore those which had been damaged or destroyed during the hostilities.

The rest of the funds were requested for various kinds of cultural activities abroad. For example, for cultural missions 10,000,000 francs were placed in the budget. The report stated that one of the most effective forms of French cultural propaganda was the sending abroad of qualified French citizens whose task it was to make contact with foreign cultural and scientific circles, and to make French

thought known through the organization of congresses, and through lectures. It was also important to study both the fields in which French cultural influence might be developed in other countries and ways of increasing this influence.

Another 10,000 francs was listed for fellowships for advanced studies in London, Moscow, Ottawa, and New York. The organization of four French schools of higher studies at Moscow, London, Ottawa, and Washington, which would help to develop strong currents of cultural interchange between France and her allies, was proposed. The program envisaged the sending of some twenty young Frenchmen who had just completed their literary, scientific, and technical training for a year's study in England, Canada, the United States, or the U.S.S.R. Owing to their very broad cultural background, they would be missionaries of French thought. A long stay abroad would also make it possible for them to bring back the great benefit of their observations. There were fields in which France had much to learn of civilizations which had developed more rapidly than the French in the use of scientific and industrial techniques for the benefit of social progress.

The same report on the budget (1945), among other items, proposed 20 million francs for financing the organization of or attendance at international and scientific conferences; 22 million francs to assist Franco-foreign associations such as France-Grande-Bretagne-Etats-Unis, France-Amérique, France-U.R.S.S.; 15 million francs for furthering the sale and distribution of French books and periodicals abroad; and 16 million francs to bring foreign students, usually at the graduate level, to France for study in French universities and higher technical schools and for training in hospitals, in laboratories, and in industry.

In line with the above proposals, the French Provisional Government began to re-establish cultural contacts abroad and to further new projects. In spite of the confused polit-

ical and economic situation within France and in spite of world-wide transportation difficulties, cultural missions were sent abroad, and a wide exchange of books and periodicals was instituted. A number of Institutes were established and the French Institute in London returned to French control. Not only was the exchange of students begun, but many French professors and specialists, particularly in the fields of science, technology, and education, were sent abroad to renew their contacts with recent developments in their special fields. New cultural centers like the Services du Conseiller Culturel in New York were created. The number of cultural officers attached to the French Missions abroad increased rapidly.

In the debate on the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Chambre des Députés, March 13, 1946, the Chambre voted favorably on a budget of 523,950,000 francs for the Oeuvres françaises abroad for 1946.⁴⁹ While, in the general budget reductions asked at that time by the French Constitutional Assembly, the amounts for French cultural activities had been reduced from those previously proposed for the year, the reporter for the Commission on the Budget made it clear that the Commission was unwilling to make "foolish economies" in this work when the prestige of France and the defense of French interests were at stake, and that additional sums might be given during the year if the requests for them seemed justified. On April 6, the Chambre des Députés voted favorably on a budget for the Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger for 1946 which had been increased to 631,000,000 francs.

France, like other countries which created Ministries of Information during the Second World War, in planning a post-war program became concerned with the future of the French information services abroad. The French Ministry of Information which was established immediately after the liberation had as one of its most important functions that

of informing the peoples of other countries about France. During the discussion of its budget by the Deputies in April of 1946, the question was raised as to the continuance of the Ministry of Information when comparable government departments had been discontinued by the United States and Great Britain. It was stated that certain activities carried on by this Ministry abroad were clearly overlapping with the cultural services of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵⁰ While an interministerial commission which had been constituted to examine its future was studying the question, the Ministry of Information was dissolved and, by the Decree of July 1, 1946, the Information Services were transferred to the Secretary of State of the Présidence du Conseil, until their final status could be determined.⁵¹

The *Journal Officiel* of June 1, 1946, gave as the appropriation for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the year 1946, 3,983,479,000 francs, of which 1,209,750,000 francs were allocated to the Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger.⁵²

During the latter half of 1946, further efforts to adjust the cultural and informational programs to the changing political and economic conditions both within and without France were made. By a decree of September 16, the Director General of Cultural affairs, M. Louis Joxe, was given the responsibility of reorganizing, with the assistance of experts and of the commissions concerned, the French cultural and informational programs abroad.

*Germany: The Preservation of
Germanism*



BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

WHEN, for political, economic, or religious reasons, the early German colonists sought new homes in foreign lands they took with them their churches and their schools. These served as centers for the conservation of German culture. In the colonies of farm workers and in the German villages transplanted bodily to foreign soil it was relatively easy for the emigrants to retain their German language and customs because they were subjected to little foreign influence. But also in the cities, as soon as the German colonies became large enough to support them, churches and schools were built and German cultural centers developed.

With the unification of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War came a new spirit, a strengthening of Germanism (*Deutschtum*) both within and without the country. Germany had long been exercising an important cultural influence throughout Europe. As she began to expand her economic and political power overseas, there came a gradual awareness of the importance of the millions of Germans living outside the Reich for the German program of cul-

tural, political, and economic expansion abroad. This movement for conserving and encouraging Germanism abroad (*Deutschtum im Auslande*) had a slow development during the last decades of the nineteenth century and a more rapid growth in the years immediately preceding the First World War.¹

With the strengthening of the German spirit came an increase in the number of German schools abroad, which began to be recognized not only as the best means for conserving German culture in German communities abroad, but also as a strong support for the German point of view and German influence among citizens of other nations.

These schools were supported by private aid, by tuition fees, and by subsidies from private organizations. To a few of them which asked for aid, the German Government gave subsidies. The budget of the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) for 1875, for example, contained an item of 9,000 marks for aid to the German *Bürgerschule* in Constantinople.²

A further step was soon taken by the Government. In the budget of the German Foreign Office for 1878-79 stood an item of 75,000 marks "for the support of German schools and other benevolent activities undertaken by the Fatherland abroad, with the exception of the support of hospitals and associations for aid to the poor." The following explanation was given for the inclusion of the item in the budget:

In the larger cities abroad in which the Germans have organized themselves into colonies of a corporate character, especially in the East, there often exist (as in Constantinople, Cairo, Belgrade, Bucharest, and many other places in Rumania,—and also in Athens, Rome and Genoa) special school organizations in which the instruction is given in the mother tongue. Experience has shown that these institutions offer the best means of keeping the children of German descent from becoming denationalized, especially the children of the poorer families. They also make it

possible to give these children the benefits of the German language, a German education, and the German point of view. As far as finances are concerned the institutions, especially those schools for the laboring classes, which are supported only by tuitions and by voluntary contributions, are almost all in a precarious position, and without support from public funds cannot continue to exist. The support of these institutions is certainly the affair of the Reich. . . . Therefore it has seemed advisable to make a definite place in the budget for funds for these purposes.³

On March 8, 1879, the Secretary of State of the Foreign Office, von Bülow, speaking before the Reichstag on the government program of cultural expansion abroad, outlined some of the policies underlying the support of the program as follows:

It is our special honor and pleasure to support and to further a knowledge of German science abroad and I must say that among the tasks of the Foreign Office there is none which is carried on with so much pleasure and interest. . . . We already have several well grounded institutes, among others the Archaeological Institute in Rome; we support and encourage certain travelers and scholars who turn to us for aid and who seem to do honor to German science and to be worthy representatives abroad. . . .⁴

An appropriation for German schools and other benevolent activities in other countries was continued as a regular item in the budget of the Foreign Office and was discussed each year in the Reichstag when the Commission of the Budget made its annual report.

In 1899, when reporting on the budget of the Foreign Office, Prince von Arenberg said that the Commission had taken into consideration the fact that schools were not the only means of furthering Germanism abroad; libraries were in certain circumstances just as suitable. Therefore the

budget chapter in the future was to read "for the support of German Schools and libraries and other benevolent activities undertaken by the Fatherland abroad." ⁵

Interest in such German schools continued to increase. Dr. Freiherr von Richthofen, Secretary of State of the Foreign Office, outlined certain policies before the Reichstag on March 6, 1901:

We are thankful that the amount for the schools abroad could be increased immediately from a sum of 150,000 marks to 300,000 marks and we will take the liberty of going to the Reichstag with a request for more as soon as this sum no longer meets essential needs. . . .

I am of the same opinion as the previous speaker, that it is not the affair of the Foreign Office to establish new schools. We have left the establishment of schools to the initiative of the Germans abroad and have only given them assistance. The Germans concerned must themselves give contributions and thereby show that they have an interest in the matter; . . . then we also extend a helping hand. In the Orient, we have, among others, subsidized the schools with no less than 30,000 marks. In the Transvaal, the German school in Johannesburg is subsidized not with 10,000 marks—as the former speaker thought—but with 16,000 marks. In Brazil we help no less than 28 schools." ⁶

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the large German populations of Austria-Hungary and eastern Europe found it increasingly difficult to maintain their German culture because of the rising nationalistic feeling of other cultural groups. The Hungarian Government, for example, was making definite efforts to Magyarize the Germans within their territories. The relationship of the German Reich to these large groups of Germans living abroad was a matter for long discussion in the Reichstag in 1903. Chancellor von Bulow made clear his policy as follows:

I have previously said before this august house that we have neither the interest nor the right to interfere in the internal conditions of other states. . . . In so far as the German citizens living abroad are concerned, we must interfere whenever injustice is done them. . . . But for our fellow countrymen (who have become citizens of other lands) and who are separated from us by international law, we cannot intervene. That is an old principle of German policy which Prince Bismarck set up and from which none of his followers can or will withdraw. However, because we want the Magyar people within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to take as powerful a place as possible in the world, we do not want them to shut themselves off from German culture to which Hungary owes so much. . . .⁷

Meanwhile a private organization, the Allgemeiner Deutsche Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Auslande, or "General German Society for Furthering Germanism Abroad," had been working actively since 1881 for the establishment and support of German schools outside Germany. It had no official character and was given no financial assistance by the Government; but by stimulating interest within Germany in the problems of the Germans living in other countries and by keeping these Germans in touch with what was going on in the Fatherland, it gave real support to the educational program which the German Government was developing outside the Reich. The Society published its first yearbook in 1904. This *Handbuch* was a comprehensive work which included detailed information about the churches, schools, and cultural and sports societies of all German groups living abroad.⁸

Essential to an understanding of the German program of cultural expansion abroad are certain underlying ideas which appear and reappear throughout its development. In an introduction to the *Handbuch*, Dr. Friedrich Paulsen, the German educator and philosopher, stated these principles

clearly. He spoke of the great contributions that Germany had made to civilization in the past and was continuing to make at the present time. It was of the greatest importance, he urged, that the German language and the German culture should hold their place in the world of the future. Any limitation, even a relative retrogression in relation to other languages, would be a loss, not only for the cause of German nationality but for the cause of humanity. The modern world would sacrifice much of the power and richness of its intellectual life if it had to do without the elements of German speech and culture. It was through this point of view that harmony could be established for Germans abroad between their duties toward the political state to which they belonged and to their German nationality.⁹

The task had become more difficult and more urgent because of the establishment of the German Reich, said Paulsen :

If on one hand German national feeling both within and without Germany's borders has increased because of this, on the other hand the jealousy and the enmity of the neighboring nations have been aroused. As long as Germany was merely a political conception, not a political power, Germanism abroad was considered as neutral and harmless; now it is considered as aggressive and threatening, especially among the peoples of the East. . . .

Because of this situation, it will be the task of Germans abroad, on one hand to protect energetically their German nationality against increasing oppression, and on the other, never to be drawn on any provocation, into any kind of political activity harmful to their State while protecting their Germanism. They must rather disarm the people of good faith among their opponents by their unquestionable loyalty. It is important to unite their political loyalty to the State to which they belong with their loyalty to their German nationality and language. They must be convinced that these two things are compatible and that both

duties make basically the same claims upon them; and they must also convince others that this point of view is correct.¹⁰

The official program of German cultural activities continued to expand. In 1909 a resolution recommending stronger support for German schools abroad was presented to the Reichstag by Herr Eickhoff with the following explanation:

Anyone who has read the history of our German schools which have long supported Germanism abroad will agree that they have been growing in a satisfactory manner both quantitatively and qualitatively. Most of them have the character of *Volksschulen* [elementary schools] and only a comparatively small number—about 30 or 40—follow higher educational aims and these institutions are adapting to their needs the programs of a six year higher educational institution. This kind of school has already come to have a very special meaning, however, because in it are instructed and trained all the youth who will later be the leaders of Germanism abroad. Certain of these schools, such as the *Allgemeine Deutsche Schule* in Antwerp and the school in Brussels, go beyond the six year type. In Antwerp we have a German *Oberrealschule* and in Brussels a *Realgymnasium* is coming into existence. A large number of these schools have asked for permission to give the certificate for the *Einjährigfreiwilligendienst* [one year of voluntary military service instead of the two years usually required]. I do not need to point out how important this is for Germans living abroad.¹¹

In the last years before the First World War, German interest in the program of Germanism abroad increased. Though the Reichstag was preoccupied with serious economic difficulties, with the heavy armament program, and with problems of foreign policy caused by the generally un-

settled condition of Europe, it gave a good deal of time and thought to the program of cultural relations abroad.

In 1911, Dr. Gorcke told the Reichstag that the German consulates in the Far East and also in other parts of the world had shown great interest in the schools which the German Foreign Office was supporting abroad. Schools had become highly important to the expansion of German culture and to the preparation of new possibilities of development in trade and exports. Especially in China a number of schools had been established in the German colonies by German citizens living there, but these schools would need support if they were to continue; the colonies were not all in a financial situation to care for the heavy expense, chief of which was that of bringing teachers from Germany.¹²

By 1913, according to a report given before the Reichstag, four schools outside Germany had the right to give the *Abiturienten Zeugnis* (leaving certificate of the German secondary school). These were the schools of Antwerp with a school enrollment of 886 pupils, Brussels with 500 pupils, Constantinople with 630 pupils, and Bucharest with 2,352 pupils. There were thirty higher educational institutions "spread over the face of the earth." Thirteen schools were allowed to give the *Einjährigfreiwilligen Zeugnis*, (the certificate allowing one year of military service). The German Foreign Office was asked to evaluate the work of the German schools abroad and to see that they were given full recognition by foreign Governments.¹³

On December 2, 1913, the Secretary of State of the Reich Treasury told the Reichstag that the fund for the *Auslandsschulen* had been raised to 1,500,000 marks. It was important to note, he added, that while there were reductions in the budget, increased amounts had been set aside for furthering political, economic, and cultural interests abroad.¹⁴

The Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann-Holweg, in summing up German foreign policy on December 9, 1913, stated:

Our place in the heart of continental Europe will forever lead us to devote all the physical and moral powers of the nation to the complete maintenance of our continental position of power. But . . . these same forces make imperative a further expansion in the field of world economy and world culture.¹⁵

UNDER THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

AT THE end of the First World War, the Germans returned to face one serious internal crisis after another—civil war, inflation, the growing economic strain, and all kinds of political conflicts. Many of them were disillusioned, bitterly resentful of the Treaty of Versailles, and in no way believed themselves defeated. Others, full of hope and energy, went to work to build a new and democratic state.

A century before, after the defeat of the Germans at Jena and Tilsit, Fichte had said in his "Talks to the German People" that education alone could save them from the evils by which they were oppressed.¹⁶

Following Fichte's ideas, German leaders again turned their attention to the education of youth as the only hope of the future. Everywhere the Germans were looking for unity after disruption, for security, for an opportunity to "find their place in the sun." Seeking added strength for Germany, they turned to their cultural comrades, the millions of Germans beyond their borders, and the program of Germanism abroad took on new life. They were greatly interested in the problems of all the German minority groups scattered over Europe, but those of the many Germans who had recently been separated from Germany by the Peace Treaty and who were now living close to the German frontiers caused the deepest concern. There was also an increasing feeling that the assistance of all *Auslandsdeutschen* was needed for the economic rehabilitation of Germany.

The program of cultural relations abroad, which had been

continued during the war years, was given increased support, and new efforts were made to bring the Germans of the Reich closer to the Germans all over the world and to regain German cultural prestige abroad.

On March 4, 1919, during the discussion of the new constitution in the Reichstag, Dr. Stresemann, then a member of the Reichstag, asked for a clear definition of the rights of German citizens living abroad, which he said had a heightened meaning at that time. He continued:

I need not emphasize the fact that it is one of our most important tasks to re-establish the old cultural community of Germans and the meaning of Germanism (*Deutschtum*) abroad. For Germanism abroad will become stronger in the future than it is in the present. While the number of Germans whom the spirit of adventure drives abroad will be smaller, the number of those whom necessity drives abroad will be larger. It is greatly to our interest that the many who must perhaps leave Germany within the next few years, who must seek new homes, will not again fertilize the cultural field for other nations but will keep their German citizenship. On the other hand, we must also have an understanding of those Germans who, for hundreds of years, have kept their German nationality under foreign sovereignty. Yesterday my colleague . . . spoke of this when he was thinking of the Volga Germans. He should have added: all the Germans in Poland and Russia, for we must intercede if they are not to come entirely under foreign cultural influence.¹⁷

Dr. Stresemann then spoke of the struggle over national minorities and the oppression of the German minorities by their enemies.

The question of policy toward the Germans living abroad was soon brought before the Reichstag. On October 7, 1919, the new Chancellor, Dr. Bauer, said in this connection:

The terrible Peace Treaty lays upon us immense and grievous burdens. But the most grievous burden is that great numbers of our fellow countrymen have been torn from us and that others are kept from annexation with us. But we must endure that if we want to carry out the Peace Treaty and carry it out loyally. The thing, however, which no peace treaty can take from us is the feeling of national unity, and what no one can forbid is the fostering of this feeling. Our German racial comrades (*Stammesgenossen*), who are and who in the future will be separated from us, shall know that we think of them and that we provide for them in all ways which the Peace Treaty allows. Not politically, but linguistically and humanly all these relations will be even warmer.

In all areas of culture, in the realm of science, in the social realm, in so far as personal relations and social intercourse are concerned, we will give practical proof of our community of interest and foster the feeling of unity. That is the cultural task of the German Reich.¹⁸

The German program of cultural relations abroad had always been carried on almost entirely by the Foreign Office. In the new Republic, the Ministry of the Interior was also given responsibility for coordinating all cultural matters, and not only worked with cultural matters within the Reich, but began a cultural program abroad which supplemented that of the German Foreign Office. Koch, the Minister of the Interior, told the Reichstag on October 16, 1919, that in those troubled times consolation and refuge could be found by turning to all things cultural. Not only in Germany but abroad, where the Germans could no longer use warships, they could take their cultural problems and make foreign countries acquainted with them. He also spoke of the millions of Germans who, as a result of the unhappy peace, were living outside the German borders and strongly

advised a close association with them in cultural affairs.¹⁹

In the program of reconstruction, German schools in other countries were called on to play an important part. In connection with the budget of the German Foreign Office for 1921, a discussion of these schools was held in the Reichstag in March. Dr. Deermann, a member of the Reichstag, drew attention to a question which, as he said, lay close to the hearts of all of them and on which all of them could work without party differences. That was the rebuilding of the German schools abroad. For their support 8,500,000 marks had been given in the budget for 1920, and he hoped that the sum would be increased from year to year. Dr. Deermann continued:

The German universities are especially sought by the students coming from the oppressed peoples and from the newly constituted states, who, as is natural, feel at ease with us because they know that we understand the sufferings that they have undergone, and because, on the other hand, they understand that we can and want to give them the best of German knowledge and ability. We have a great interest in the spiritual and political liberation of these people, who until now were backward or oppressed. The more we encourage cultural, spiritual and economic advancement in these new lands, the more opportunities will be opened to us to establish flourishing economic undertakings there and to carry on commerce. We will win friends, who as products of our economy, of our techniques, of our industry, will gladly purchase from us.

Above all, we must not open merely the doors of our universities to these students. . . . The students coming from these young nations must be introduced to German society, to German cultural life, through personal contact with German families, German scholars, representatives from commerce and industry. Only those students who have become fond of us will retain a good memory of us, for in the last analysis everything depends

upon the feelings which we preserve toward each other, upon the friendly memories which the students carry with them back to their homes. Cold German scholarship does not win for us the hearts of foreign peoples.²⁰

In his conclusion, Dr. Deermann stated that the time when the Germans thought to obtain influence, advantages, and consideration through power and might had passed. "Even if our economic and, above all, our military might have been taken away from us," said Dr. Deermann, "hate and envy cannot rob us of our spiritual and intellectual power. We alone can destroy or harm this power. Only in friendly competition with intellectual or spiritual weapons, in a friendly cultural offensive in the outside world, can we win back and even increase our former importance as a civilized nation, as a nation of highly educated men. . . ." ²¹

In July, 1921, Consul General Moraht, Chief of the Foreign Office and Commissioner in the Reich Government, reported to the Reichstag that the Foreign Office proposed to create a cultural advisory council which would act in an advisory capacity to the various qualified units dealing with the cultural and political relations of Germany to foreign countries. The Foreign Office intended to appoint to the council certain individuals who, because of their professional standing or their life experience, were pre-eminently qualified to advise on questions of cultural policies.²²

A smaller committee, which was to turn its attention to the German schools abroad and which was to be made up of persons trained in foreign pedagogy and others who were interested in the problems of these schools, was already being formed. Discussions about it were taking place between the Foreign Office and the Reich Ministry of the Interior, which was also concerned because it was developing its own program of cultural relations.²³

Prussia, as the most important German state, was also in-

terested in the German cultural program abroad. In the Prussian Landtag in February, 1922, a committee recommendation was made to place a sum in the state budget to encourage the introduction of the Society for Germanism Abroad in the secondary schools.

In supporting the recommendation Dr. Boelitz, Prussian Minister of Education, explained:

What we are trying to obtain for our pupils is the feeling of intimate relationship with everything that is German, whether it is within or without the German boundary lines. Outside our boundaries many Germans are living who look to us with longing and who do not want to lose their relationship with German culture. If our school circles will help and will awaken in the hearts of our pupils warm sympathy and enthusiasm for all Germans abroad, that is to be heartily welcomed. . . .²⁴

The recommendation of the committee was voted upon favorably by the Prussian Landtag, and the Society for Germanism Abroad was introduced into the schools. In the school groups of the Society, the students made a study of Germanism abroad and made collections for the support of the German schools outside the country. The Society also kept the Germans living abroad in constant touch with what was going on within Germany, through books and pamphlets, and through the support of schools and the provision of teachers for them.

The youth in the state schools of Germany were also given much information about Germanism abroad through materials in their regular textbooks. Some texts included long chapters on the subject, which stressed the idea of the cultural unity of all Germans, the greatness of German culture and the important achievements of Germans living abroad who had retained their "Germanism."²⁵

It should be noted that during the pre-war period, the

program to further the cause of the Germans living in other countries was carried on among relatively few Germans both within and without Germany. In the German Republic, on the other hand, increasing efforts were made to acquaint the masses of the people with the problems of Germanism abroad.

In 1924 the chief committee on the budget of the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art, and Popular Education made the following recommendation in the Prussian Landtag:

To request the State Ministry to give increased attention and encouragement to Germanism on the frontiers and abroad (*Grenz und Auslandsdeutschtum*) with the following aims in view:

a. To provide that the knowledge and understanding of the meaning of Germanism both on the frontiers and abroad should be given in all schools, to a much greater extent than heretofore.

b. To prepare increased means for cultural propaganda (*Kulturpropaganda*) in the endangered areas.

c. To espouse the cause of the German schools abroad and their teachers most zealously and to exert an influence in the same direction upon the Reich.²⁶

After the period of inflation was over and conditions became more stable in Germany, the problem of economic rehabilitation loomed large.

On May 18, 1925, Stresemann, as Minister of State of the Foreign Office, discussed Germanism abroad and the place of the German minorities as follows:

I should like to devote a few words to those fellow-countrymen who, although they are inseparably united to us by a common culture and the bond of blood, must live as citizens of a foreign state, whether this is the result of a long historical development, or the result of recent treaties. Almost everywhere they are engaged in a battle for the preservation of their nationality, a

battle which is the more difficult the closer they live to the German boundaries. Even if we are not bound to them politically, it is natural that our wishes and our hopes follow them in their struggle. . . .

Our relationship to the countries of South and Central America, especially where the World War has brought about disturbances, is good. Besides the commercial connections which are increasing to our mutual advantage from year to year, our intellectual relationships are also becoming stronger, as has recently been shown in repeated visits of outstanding scholars. We fervently hope for a further development of these relations. The fact that many of our countrymen have found a living and a second home in South and Central America has contributed to strengthen the bonds between us and these countries. . . .²⁷

Dr. Stresemann's speech was well received in the Reichstag, and it was followed by a long discussion by a number of deputies of the need for fostering Germanism abroad.

Count von Bernstorff, supporting the program, said that Napoleon, "one of the greatest soldiers of all time and certainly not a pacifist," had once said that the two greatest powers in the world were the sword and the spirit and that in the end the spirit had always triumphed over the sword. Von Bernstorff continued:

People can dispute the question with which of these great powers they will carry on their policies. When, however, people do not have the sword, and when they are not in a position to use the sword, then they must make use of a policy of the mind. We can carry on no other policy.²⁸

On June 13, 1925, the Reichsminister of the Interior, Dr. Schiele, also spoke before the Reichstag about German cultural relations abroad. Instead of being weakened by the war and the years following it, national feeling among all

Germans had been strengthened and raised to a "common, all penetrating power," said Dr. Schiele.

While the German Reich at present can display only moderate power abroad, we have the certainty that German intellect and the German will for self-determination live and grow powerfully and know no frontiers. In this spirit and will, we feel one with the Germans abroad. We will therefore see that it develops ever more powerfully in our Fatherland and in our people and that on this foundation, from moral power and regeneration, new might and new authority grow for the German Reich. This authority, anchored in the home, in the Fatherland, will also, beyond our political borders and beyond the seas, help procure for Germanism new prestige and a new flowering.²⁹

By 1928, the conflicts within the country had become more sharply defined among the political, social, and religious groups. The seriousness of these internal divisions was clearly seen, for example, in the difficulty of developing any kind of unified system of education within the Reich, or anything approaching a program of democratic education for republican Germany. The increasing economic insecurity within the country showed itself in increasing dissatisfaction with the foreign policies. There still remained, however, some hope that, through the League of Nations which Germany had joined in 1926, better conditions might still come to Germany.

Meanwhile, the plight of the German minority groups living beyond the frontiers of the Reich was becoming a matter of increasing concern to the authorities of the Weimar Republic. Dr. Stresemann, although well aware of the difficulties arising from the encroachment on the rights of the German minorities in parts of Europe, continued his efforts to settle such problems through the League of Nations.

The League of Nations, however, did not espouse the

cause of the German minorities in the way for which many Germans had hoped. When Stresemann returned from the meeting of the League at Madrid in 1929, he met sharp criticism from the Reichstag for the lack of constructive activity in connection with minority problems.

In June, 1929, Dr. Stresemann in a speech on foreign policy emphasized the fact that the representatives of the Foreign Office abroad must give due attention to cultural questions. If they had ever been important, he said, these cultural questions had for Germany—not only in a cultural sense but also in relation to foreign policy—an extraordinarily important meaning at that time. He added that the whole position of Germany, if it could not be maintained by power and prestige, must depend on preserving and fostering abroad, to the greatest possible extent, all existent cultural possessions. He further stated:

I say "preserve" first advisedly; for I have the impression that the generation is dying out which, as was formerly the case, was so closely attached to German culture. As long as we stood in the bright sunlight of German power, foreign peoples were more inclined to send their sons to Germany than at a time when we must fight to hold in some measure the place which we formerly held. . . . We are here dealing with the place of Germanism in the world. Whether it is within our borders, or whether it is within other frontiers anywhere in the world that German is spoken, that German culture is treasured, that is what we are fighting for.³⁰

Dr. Stresemann went on to say that anyone who visited a German school abroad, as he recently had done in Madrid, where Spaniards and Germans enjoyed the instruction together, would see how the entire wealth of German education was transmitted to another nation. He added:

Look at the French Republic; she has never spared funds for this; she knows exactly how she has won over the Orient intellectually; with her French schools, with her French cultural efforts. In an entirely different way every single country has felt the French cultural influence; very systematically and at definite periods the countries were placed one after another under this influence. And if we before the war, instead of the shortsighted wisdom of writing many pages about many Balkan states, had put ourselves into relation with them on the basis of mutual consideration, we would have arrived at something quite different.³¹

Expressing his consternation over the fact that the number of foreign students studying in Germany was decreasing, Dr. Stresemann urged that the funds for German schools and for the German cultural program abroad, which had recently been cut, be replaced, and added:

How wrong it is not to grant the means, if we can, to give the students who come to us pleasant quarters and to make everything easy for them. That will bring returns to later generations in Germany. Why have so many people been drawn to us? Because they have spent some time here; because they have assimilated the German spirit; because this has become a part of their souls; and because they have developed a liking for our country. And therefore, however difficult the financial conditions are, think of one thing—that it is not, as one so often sees in quotation marks, “a policy of internationalization” which is the best German policy, but the policy of understanding among peoples in the German sense. . . .³²

For years the members of both the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag had been asking for a clarification of the position of the teachers in the German schools abroad. If these schools were to have the desired influence, they must be

provided with teachers of high quality. The Foreign Office, in collaboration with the different German states, had been instrumental in selecting teachers for the German schools abroad, but the teachers were trained within the different states of the Reich and had to be released from the state service for service abroad. The lack of uniformity in these procedures made the situation difficult for the teacher who wished to work in a foreign land. The rapid growth of the German schools abroad made some action imperative.

In 1928, Prussia, so often a leader in educational matters, made clear its position. The Prussian Minister of Science, Art, and Popular Education announced in the *Zentralblatt*, the official educational journal of Prussia, that at the request of the Foreign Office he was issuing regulations for service in the German schools together with information about conditions there.³⁸

According to the detailed regulations, all applicants for teaching positions abroad who were to be placed through the Foreign Office must possess the same qualifications as the teachers holding comparable positions within the Reich. Applicants under thirty-five and unmarried had the best opportunities. A knowledge of foreign languages made placement easier. At that time positions were available in Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey; in Japan and China; in Central and South America; and in Southwest Africa.

The Prussian regulations went on to explain that the German schools in foreign countries belonged neither to the Reich nor to the state governments, but were schools founded by German school communities, school associations, or church communities abroad. These schools were administered by school boards of the community or the associations. By placement in one of these schools, the teacher did not enter the service of the Reich but the service of the school community or association supporting the school. Arrangements

were made, not with the Foreign Office, but through the Foreign Office with the local school boards.

The duties of the teachers in both elementary and secondary schools were in general the same as those at home. However, said the regulations, it was expected that the teacher, in addition to his regular school work, should take advantage of the opportunity offered to foster Germanism in the community where he was working.

Other states also made regulations and efforts were made to unify them. This interest in the German schools abroad and in teachers for them was partially due to the fostering of Germanism within the Reich. However, the rapid increase in unemployment, especially among the academically trained young people, caused many of those who had the necessary qualifications as teachers to seek positions abroad. Special courses were soon set up to prepare them for their duties in other lands.³⁴

In August, 1929, a notice appeared in the Prussian *Zentralblatt für Erziehung und Unterricht*, signed by the Prussian Minister of Science, Art and Popular Education, to the effect that a central office, the Deutsche Pädagogische Auslandsstelle, an information center for educational exchanges with foreign countries, had recently been established.³⁵

In the discussion of the budget of the Foreign Office on June 25, 1930, Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven, as reporter of the Commission, made a comparison of the German Foreign Office budget with comparable budgets of certain other countries. The budget of the German Foreign Office had risen from 21 million in 1914 to 63 million Reichsmarks in 1930, he said. A comparison with other countries showed that this was excessively high. The English budget came to about 49 million, the French to 36 million Reichsmarks. Japan gave about 34 million for her foreign budget, Poland 25 million, Italy 17 million and Spain only 11 million. Von Freytag-

Loringhoven thought the German Foreign Office was overweighted with personnel.³⁶

The secret funds were also considerably higher in Germany than in France, namely, 4,500,000 R.M. for Germany as compared with 2,500,000 R.M. for France. The reporter noted, however, that the amounts given by the German Government for the fostering of cultural relations abroad and for the support of the German schools were too low. For these purposes, Germany gave about 7,500,000 R.M. while France gave about 6,000,000 for the same purpose, although there were no large French colonies abroad comparable to the German colonies.³⁷

Dr. Curtius, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, emphasized the heavy burden of official activity for improving foreign trade and for furthering German culture in other countries. He urged greater care for the Germans abroad and said that after the evacuation of the Rhineland, in the areas where they had not yet been won, further efforts would be directed toward the achievement of full political freedom and equality for Germany.³⁸

In the continued discussion, Dr. Schnee stated that for cultural policies abroad (*Kulturpolitik*) the German Foreign Office had at its disposal much smaller amounts than the other nations. Dr. Kulz, while recommending close cooperation between the Ministry of the Interior and the Foreign Office in their program to foster Germanism, thought that the main responsibility of this program should be kept in the hands of the Foreign Office, because of its close contact with the foreign countries.

On September 14, 1930, in the new elections, the National Socialists won 107 votes and became the second strongest party in the Reichstag. Immediately after the victory, some of the members of the Party in Hamburg made the decision to found an *Auslandsabteilung* ("Foreign Division") of the National Socialist Party in order to carry Nazi ideals to

the Germans living abroad. This would give the many Germans living in foreign lands an opportunity to prove their devotion to the Hitler movement by becoming members of the National Socialist Party. The Hamburg group began immediately to make definite plans for a cultural program abroad.³⁹

In February, 1931, Dr. Curtius, again speaking on foreign policy, told the members of the Reichstag that the German Government was waiting for the League of Nations to carry out its high task, that of being a refuge for the minorities, more resolutely than it had formerly done. The Government hoped that it would give *Volkstum* (nationality based on a common culture) the right to make its own way and that it would shape the thought of tolerance of the state toward foreign nationality into a Magna Carta for this purpose. The Germans would take an active part in this. The protection of minorities, the development of the idea of *Volkstum*, remained main tasks of the German foreign policy.⁴⁰

On March 17, 1931, Dr. Schnee, reporter for the Budget Commission, opening the discussion of the budget of the Foreign Office, said that it had been necessary to reduce appropriations. He continued:

Unfortunately, the grants for cultural activities have also been affected. Here most important work is at stake. This involves not only the preservation of German culture in the world, but it also involves problems of world policy. In the World War, the real German nature was so badly maligned that it is of the greatest importance to spread the knowledge of German culture everywhere abroad and to aim at a correct understanding of German character and German culture. In view of the great efforts made by other countries, it seems necessary for the Germans also to do everything possible in this direction.⁴¹

In the meantime, the National Socialists were actively carrying on their plans not only to take possession of the

Reich, but also to extend their program abroad. On May 31, 1931, the Foreign Division was officially sanctioned by the Reich organization of the National Socialist Party and its activities were centered in Hamburg. According to a study of the whole Auslands-Organisation, or Foreign Organization of the National Socialist Party, made by Gauleiter Bohle, its leader, the work abroad was very difficult at first because of lack of money and because of the opposition from official representatives of the German Republic abroad. However, after continued efforts and the use of all kinds of personal connections with Germans living abroad, the first footing was won by the Nazis toward the end of 1931. The isolated National Socialist organizations which already existed in other countries were given a strong base in the Homeland through the Foreign Division.⁴²

With the sanctioning of the Foreign Division of the National Socialist German Worker's Party, (N.S.D.A.P.) in 1931, machinery was immediately put in motion to bring the Germans who were living abroad into the Nazi fold. Nazi propaganda found a fertile field in many parts of Europe and Latin America, especially among the dissatisfied German minority groups of Europe, among the many Germans in different parts of the world, who, continuing their devotion to the old Monarchy, had viewed the activities of the Weimar Republic with alarm, and among the German youth abroad who, weary of struggling with the difficulties of the post-war world, were ready to turn to new political ideas and to another culture. Many of the German schools abroad, especially the denominational schools, had been strongholds of conservatism and the younger generation of Germans knew little of democracy. The Nazi propaganda appealed to these young people abroad as it had to the young people within Germany. In its emphasis on the glory of German culture, the unity of all Germans and the strength that came from such unity, this

propaganda touched something very deep within all Germans.

According to Bohle, in spite of strong opposition from all sides, the year 1932 brought a considerable growth in the National Socialist groups abroad and the organization of the first *Landesgruppen* ("Party groups") so that when the seizure of power came in January, 1933, there were a number of "steadfast National Socialists" in many places abroad ready to undertake the responsibility of making the Führer's *Weltanschauung*, the possession of all Germans living abroad.

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PROGRAM ABROAD

WHEN the National Socialists came into power they found a strong foundation on which to build their program of cultural expansion abroad. Both within and without Germany, a feeling of the cultural unity of all Germans had been fostered. The Nazi foreign policy called for the union of all Germans into a Greater Germany which would include not only Germany and Austria, but the territory occupied by Germans in other parts of the world. Under the direction of the *Auslands-Abteilung* which later became the *Auslands-Organisation* of the N.S.D.A.P., a program was begun immediately to make all German citizens living abroad as active participants in the National Socialist program as the Germans within the Fatherland. The goal of their work, said Dr. Emil Ehrich, writing on the *Auslands-Organisation* or A.O., was a "community of destiny for all Germans," both within and without the Fatherland, which would "weather all storms."⁴³

While the National Socialists were developing their program abroad through the A.O., the young people of Germany continued their associations with the young people of other

countries through the Hitler Youth. As an outgrowth of the German Youth Movement, many boys and girls of the Weimar Republic had not only "wandered" throughout Germany during the years following the First World War, but had gone abroad, especially to the countries near the German frontiers. Regular school journeys had been scheduled which in some cases took whole classes of German secondary school youth to such countries as England and France. On the other hand, many foreign youth groups had been welcomed in Germany. Under the National Socialist regime, this kind of international exchange was highly favored. Baldur von Schirach, appointed *Reichsjugendführer*, or National Youth Leader, in 1934, in his book, *Die Hitler Jugend*, stated that the Hitler Youth, although developing a program through its Foreign Division, had nothing to do with foreign policy or propaganda. In the exchange of German youth and the youth of other nations it was "purely human understanding" that was sought. Every nation, said von Schirach, was interested in having its young people gain the widest possible political outlook. The National Socialist youth went abroad not to teach, but to learn—to learn to know the beauties of the foreign land and to ascertain the peculiar characteristics of its people.⁴⁴

However, von Schirach added that the *Reichsjugendführung* reached out not only to the youth of other nations, but worked in the closest relationships with the young people of German descent living in the German settlements of Europe and South America. One of the activities of the Foreign Division of the Hitler Youth was the organization of the younger generation of German citizens living abroad into youth groups in which National Socialist values might be taught. The program also included plans for the training of leaders chosen from among the *Auslandsdeutschen* who were to be brought to Germany for actual experience within that country.

Gauleiter Bohle, Leader of the Auslands-Organisation of the N.S.D.A.P. from its beginning, and Chief of the Auslands-Organisation of the Foreign Office after January, 1937, made an official statement in 1939 concerning the program carried on abroad by the N.S.D.A.P. He made it clear that, since the new regime identified German culture with National Socialist culture, the work of cultural relations abroad must take on a clear National Socialist direction. Any German living abroad who wished to carry on a close relationship with the German Homeland would have to carry on this relationship within the framework of the National Socialist Party, because Germany had become National Socialist.

National Socialist leaders began to lay great stress on the new and inescapable duties of each German living abroad to further this relationship. A regulation of the Central Administration of the National Socialist Party stipulated that every member of the Party who was abroad, or who moved his regular residence abroad, must, without exception, be under the leadership of the Foreign Division. In principle only men of German citizenship were taken into the Party and the activity of the Foreign Organization limited itself entirely to German citizens living abroad. There was a clear differentiation between the *Auslandsdeutschen* or German citizens living abroad and the *Volksdeutschen* who, although they were of German descent and were German in speech and culture, were citizens of foreign countries. Bohle stated that, from the beginning, there was "complete and unconditional renunciation of any interference in the internal political affairs of foreign States."⁴⁵

Most of the activities carried on within the Reich found their counterparts in the work of the National Socialists abroad. A Kultur-Amt or cultural bureau of the Auslands-Organisation was set up to serve as an administrative center for all kinds of intellectual and cultural exchange between

Germans living abroad and the Reich. The Kultur-Amt dealt with every aspect of their cultural life. Bohle made it clear that the Germans living abroad had a most important task of a political and cultural nature before them. Serving as intermediaries between the Reich and the foreign countries, they could carry on the important cultural interchange so necessary among peoples today. Certain film, radio, art, literary, and information activities were also centered in the Kultur-Amt.

Another bureau, an offshoot of the Kultur-Amt, dealt with all questions of academic work abroad and with exchanges of scholars and scientific personnel. A Student Bureau sent students from the Reich to study abroad, and brought German students from foreign countries to study in Germany. A Teachers' Bureau undertook the direction of all teachers working in the German schools abroad. It also controlled the teaching activity of these teachers by creating new textbooks. Still another bureau directed the work of all technical workers abroad, engineers, chemists, geologists, etc.

A welfare bureau carried on, among other activities, the *Winterhilfswerk*, or "Winter Relief Work." The women's organizations were strongly emphasized, for it was the mothers who could mold the younger generations. Through an educational program particularly adapted to their sex, not only the women within the Reich but also the women living abroad were to become bearers of the Nazi *Weltanschauung* and through it were to teach German ways and German culture. Athletic activities, including *Wehrsport* (a type of pre-military training) were stressed. The children were organized. The high-powered educational program through which Germans in the Homeland were inducted into Nazi culture was carried on abroad and used intensively. The administrative organization of the A.O. was worked out in the greatest detail to carry on this work.

Dr. Emil Ehrich, in his study of the Auslands-Organisation of the N.S.D.A.P., emphasized not only the activities of the Germans living abroad but also those of the German sailors who were a part of the A.O., and who were able to further the National Socialist cause when their ships were in foreign ports.⁴⁶

Dr. Ehrich explained that Germandom abroad had quickly understood the meaning of the National Socialist Movement and had supported it, in spite of all obstacles. It was not always easy to note progress from a distance. Here and there, however, without material support from the Fatherland, new German houses, homes, and schools were built. The heads of the great German business establishments overseas and their employees, through voluntary labor, made available new athletic fields and convalescent homes. Sometimes an individual might ride for hours through the primeval forest in order to attend a meeting of his Nazi party group. Reports came in of friendly evenings spent in the great harbors of the world in which the German sailors met the Germans living abroad and developed comradely relationships.

Almost all of the German colonies soon placed themselves under National Socialist leadership, said Dr. Ehrich, and the Auslands-Organisation put its full force behind their activities. Help for the needy in the wintertime, the single Sunday meal, the sale of posters, the social work of women, were all activities furthered outside the Reich. In 1936 for the Winter Relief 1,800,000 R.M. were contributed beyond the usual winter expenditures. During that year 880 German mothers living abroad were able to have a month's rest in the Fatherland, and more than 350 convalescent cases from all over the world were cared for in Germany. Ten thousand German children from foreign lands spent their vacations in the Reich; while in National Socialist homes for youth there

were, in the same year, some 170 children of needy families who had been brought from abroad and who were being educated and trained for teaching.

In summing up the activities of the National Socialists abroad furthered by the A.O., Dr. Ehrich emphasized the point that nothing brought the community more closely together than common experience. The center of community living for the Germans abroad was the national festival. The patriotic holidays to be celebrated as sanctioned by the A.O., included the birthday of the Führer and January 30, the day of his rise to power, the first of May, the Harvest Festival, and the 9th of November. Expert speakers on the National Socialist Movement, the State, the Labor Service, the cultural life and the economy of the Third Reich, were always available for such occasions. Some of these celebrations were very important to the Movement. On May 1, 1936, for example, in São Paulo, Brazil, 25,000 men marched in a great procession, while a great Zeppelin flew over the heads of the German crowds assembled in Rio de Janeiro.

Throughout the National Socialist program abroad the exchange of people was considered to be of the greatest importance. When, however, as Dr. Ehrich said, the "living, personal touch" was not possible, in order to strengthen the bonds between the Homeland and the Germans living abroad, other means were used. There were some forty party and colonial newspapers which helped in the task. Through a special "National Socialist Newspaper Service for foreign newspapers," information about recent developments in the Reich was sent abroad very quickly. There was a general monthly magazine called *Der Deutsche im Ausland*. For the seagoing members of the A.O. there were two magazines, *Seefahrt ist Not* and *Der deutsche Seemann*.

The Verband deutscher Vereine im Ausland was organized by the National Socialists to unify all German associations, societies or groups in the German colonies and to give them

a National Socialist leadership. There were hundreds of these German associations which had always played an important role in the German communities abroad, including athletic associations, charitable organizations, groups interested in choral singing, women's groups, etc.

Publications sent abroad by the Verband deutscher Vereine included a monthly *Heimatbrief* or "home letter." A yearbook, *Wir Deutschen in der Welt*, was also published by the Verband in 1935 and 1936.

The modern media for disseminating information, the radio and the motion picture, were widely used to enlighten the Germans living abroad and to develop a feeling for the Homeland. Through the short-wave radio they were kept in close touch with important events in the Reich. In areas where short-wave reception was impossible, phonograph records were used. Those became indispensable for the education of party members, stated Ehrich, especially in out-of-the-way places. Records were also provided in many centers for "German hours" and were very useful for acquainting the citizens of other countries with German cultural achievements. The sound film was considered a most desirable medium for developing understanding of the National Socialist Movement, because, in the pictures, the Fatherland became alive. In addition to the regular films, the Auslands-Organisation sent out a weekly news reel, the "Echo der Heimat." Most groups of the A.O. had motion picture machines so that films might be shown in German circles without having to depend on the regular theatres.

Ehrich went on to state that the German citizen living abroad, without bringing upon himself criticism for propagandizing in a foreign state, was naturally a link, especially in so far as cultural and economic relations were concerned, between the Fatherland and the foreign country. His blameless behavior would not only bring him the respect of the Reich, but his work in these two areas would further the

kinds of international relations to which the A.O. consciously devoted itself. Ehrich also emphasized the importance of the German schools and their teachers which were most significant factors in developing cultural understanding. In the economic realm the great chambers of commerce, which had been reorganized after Hitler's rise to power, had also served the cause of international relations well.

Stuttgart had long furthered the cause of the Germans living abroad through the Auslands-Institute which had been established there in 1917. In 1936 the Fuhrer named Stuttgart as the city of the *Auslandsdeutschen*. From that time on the great demonstrations planned by the A.O. for the Germans living abroad took place in Stuttgart and thousands of Germans from other lands and German sailors learned about the new Germany in that center. These German visitors to the Reich would embody the new type of Germans living abroad, stated Ehrich, and would be recognized and respected as worthy representatives of the new Germany. They would go out willingly to organize new communities, which would have an existence of their own, but which, at the same time belonged to the whole German community. Ehrich concluded his study of the A.O. by saying that the Leader of the Auslands-Organisation and his fellow workers would work with all Germans abroad in the service of a Nationalist Socialist ethnic community, based upon the work and deeds of the Führer, for there were no longer frontiers or oceans to separate the Germans.

As the National Socialists grew in power, their activities abroad became a matter of serious concern to foreign states. Leaders of the N.S.D.A.P., however, insisted that the activities were directed only to German citizens living in other lands, and pointed to a decree of the Führer of January 30, 1937, which laid down guiding principles for all party members who were to work abroad. According to this decree they must follow the law of the land in which they were living and

have nothing to do with its internal politics. Always and everywhere they must remember that they were party comrades who must act in such a way as to do honor to National Socialism and to Germany. They were all fellow fighters in the front lines and must have exact information about the structure, the content and the aims of the National Socialist Movement. They must also try to bring every honorable German into the Movement and convince him of the "need of victory so that Germany might live again."⁴⁷

The Auslands-Organisation of the N.S.D.A.P. published a yearbook, *Jahrbuch der AO*, which described in detail many of the activities furthered in foreign lands by the National Socialists. In the yearbook for 1942, for example, were chapters on the ways in which the members of the A.O. cared for the German troops as they entered the foreign countries during invasion; the fate of the Germans in Spain; the Reich Germans in Slovakia; the work of the A.O. in Norway during the war; the invasion of Greece; German women abroad in the second year of the war; and German youth abroad.⁴⁸

The operations of the Auslands-Organisation in Slovakia, for example, were described in the yearbook. There were about 35,000 Germans in Czechoslovakia after the First World War. The German minority groups in Slovakia had suffered greatly under the domination of the Czechs. Finally, in 1926, the German citizens living in Slovakia united in establishing a Hilfsverein, a charitable society for German citizens in Pressburg, the work of which was limited to caring for needy German citizens and to social meetings. After the rise to power of Hitler in 1933, according to the *Jahrbuch*, there was an awakening of ethnic consciousness among the Germans in Czechoslovakia. Under the leadership of a party comrade, who grasped the importance of the National Socialist ideology, several men who were also interested in National Socialism were placed in key positions in the Hilfsverein. In this way a party group of the Auslands-Organisa-

tion was established and the Verein soon became an instrument of the National Socialist Party. Since the Party was banned in Czechoslovakia, however, Nazi activity had to be carried on under cover and with a great deal of care. During the following years, there was strong emphasis on the political performance of the Germans living in Czechoslovakia. The local groups in Pressburg soon joined with other similar groups and the work was advancing rapidly when the leader of National Socialist activities in Praha was arrested and the leader of the group in Pressburg had to flee to Germany.

In spite of all obstacles the Movement continued to grow. Other groups of the Hilfsverein were established which later became National Socialist groups. Making the National Socialist viewpoint the center of their work, almost all Reich Germans in Slovakia had been united by 1938. Because of the opposition of the Czechs, the Reich Germans were driven out of Czechoslovakia in that year, but they were soon able to return and to develop new groups. In January, 1939, the first great political demonstration took place in Praha on the day of the seizure of power by the Germans and on that day the Nazi uniforms were seen for the first time on the streets of that city. When, after March 14, Slovakia became independent of Czechoslovakia, the work went rapidly forward. Throughout this period there were the closest cultural relationships with the Reich.⁴⁹

While preparations for the occupation of Europe were under way, the Auslands-Organisation turned increased attention to South and Central America. Saxton Bradford, in an article on *Deutsche Auslandspropaganda*, said in this connection:

When Germany began serious immediate preparations for World War II, the German residents of South and Central America were regimented by the *Auslandsorganisation* into typical party structures: *Blockwarte*, *Zellen*, *Ortsgruppen*, and *Lan-*

desgruppen, each presided over by a party leader. The *Landesgruppenleiter* was a man of considerable influence not only in the country in which he operated but also in the home office of Berlin. In many cases he was a regularly accredited official of the diplomatic mission, operating under a diplomatic cover title, sometimes as high in rank as counselor of embassy. All well-established German clubs, schools, churches, labor groups, charitable organizations, cultural outposts, chambers of commerce, commercial enterprises, and scientific centers on which pressure could be applied were dragooned into line. Whether they liked it or not they became a dynamic part of the German concept of total global war. Their role was largely economic and propagandistic. They were guided by the theses of the *Auslandspropaganda* handbook. Germans in South American countries, inspired and guided by a considerable army of agents sent out from Berlin and by an equally considerable army of opportunist local leaders, infiltrated as far as possible local political movements and institutions. Germans in one of the American republics were assessed up to 50 per cent of their salaries for German propaganda. This money was extorted by every means at hand. Nazi agents examined the books of firms suspected of holding out. Although this manoeuver was largely blocked, once war had broken out, by the cooperative defensive action of the American republics, it made some headway in the direction of embarrassing the war effort of the United Nations.⁵⁰

DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

REPORTS from the field written by members of the *Auslands-Organisation* describe in detail their activities when the German invasion of Europe began. Alerted in advance, they awaited in the foreign lands the arrival of German forces by air, land or sea, and were able to guide their movements and to see that they were given every possible assistance.

In Norway, for example, according to one of these reports,

when the German troops entered Oslo, the representatives of the A.O. had the responsibility of finding food and shelter for them, of caring for the wounded, of getting dry clothes for those whose ships had been damaged in landing, as well as for many other services. Because of the innumerable demands, stated the diary of an A.O. representative in Norway who was an eye-witness of the invasion, it was necessary not only to call on all German citizens in the community, but to enlist the assistance first of all those of German descent and later of the Norwegians sympathetic to the National Socialist cause.⁵¹

While the German soldiers were marching in northern and eastern Europe "to free the world from Bolshevism and to fight for a better and happier future for the European peoples," as one Nazi source stated it, the German youth, thousands of miles away, could often be found engaging in athletic contests in foreign lands in order to show the superiority of the Hitler Youth. Such an athletic contest which had recently taken place on the athletic field of the German school in Lisbon was described in detail in the *Jahrbuch der A.O.* for 1942. The boys and girls had come from all over Portugal to take part in the sports or to watch the spectacle. Loud-speakers had been set up and German songs and marches sounded throughout the evening. The German boys and girls marched in unison, showing that discipline, good behavior and order were not only possessions of the youth inside Germany but of all German youth. With them marched a division of the Meidada, the state Portuguese youth organization, for these young people were recognized as comrades of the youth of the Greater Germany. There were all kinds of sports, including high jumping, running, and dancing for the girls. Here, on the Atlantic coast, was a sport festival like those in a hundred places within the Reich. The article went on to state that in all the work of the Hitler Youth

abroad especial attention was directed toward developing good relations with the youth of each foreign land.

The program of *Kraft durch Freude*, to develop strength through joy, which was strongly stressed within the Reich, was also extended to the *Auslandsdeutschen* during this period. In this program, music and art, the theatre and other cultural activities which might bring all Germans together through enjoyable experiences were emphasized and creative activities in the arts were encouraged. The importance of these activities to the Reich was again stressed in a decree of April 11, 1942, given out by the Reich Chancellery, which made it clear that the political, cultural, and professional relationships that were carried on by the Party, its organizations and associations, with the representatives of foreign Governments, organizations and individuals, were an important part of foreign policy. In furthering such relationships between peoples, stated the decree, it must never be forgotten that the understanding of the National Socialist world-philosophy and the principles on which it was based corresponded to "the nature of German blood and therefore could not be carried over to foreign nations." The living together of different peoples demanded mutual consideration of their national differences and peculiarities. That the National Socialist Party and its organizations therefore had no European or world mission to fulfill, was again specifically stated.⁵²

In 1943, to strengthen its program abroad, the Foreign Office, under von Ribbentrop, set up a powerful Kulturpolitische Abteilung, combining the old Cultural and Informational Divisions, which furthered actively the combined cultural and political relations with other countries. It is interesting to note here that the German Propaganda Ministry, under Goebbels, also desirous of controlling propaganda abroad, carried on cultural propaganda in its foreign programs for the preparation and organization of

which there were special sections within the Ministry, including sections dealing with books and literature, information and the press, motion pictures, radio, cultural matters, the theatre, music, sports, and tourist travel.⁵³

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

WITH the defeat of Germany the National Socialist program, both within and without Germany, went underground to a large extent. In neutral nations like Sweden and Portugal and in the Latin American Republics, German schools and other centers of Nazi influence were closed or their activities seriously curtailed. However, not only inside Germany but in other lands during the months which have followed the cessation of hostilities, there have been evidences that the National Socialist Movement is not dead. Spruille Braden, Assistant Secretary of State, in an address delivered on January 19, 1946 spoke of "the persistence into the post-war period, whether overt or covert, of the ideology and methods identified with what we call 'National Socialism'"; "In the hour of Germany's defeat, in the hour of Japan's collapse," he stated, "we find it [the ideology of National Socialism] flourishing in the midst of our international community, ready for the day when, if we allow it to do so, it will become resurgent."⁵⁴

The underground plan of the Hitler Youth to "maintain contacts between the Hitler Youth leaders and other good German elements" as part of the Nazi plan to continue resistance after defeat, which was conceived before the end of the war and which was publicized in the spring of 1946 by the U. S. and British Intelligence in western Germany, has wide significance.⁵⁵ The Hitler Youth organized in foreign countries had much the same training as the Hitler Youth within Germany. Moreover, the enthusiasm of many of the *Auslandsdeutschen*, including the youth, was as great as

that of the Germans born in the Reich. It has been noted in the history of the National Socialist Movement that, in addition to Hitler, several of the most able and devoted Nazi leaders, including Bohle, leader of the Auslands-Organisation, were themselves *Auslandsdeutschen*.

Cultural relationships between Occupied Germany and other countries were still under the control of Allied Military Government in the autumn of 1946.

Japan: The Racial Approach



“JAPAN has been inclined, historically speaking, to absorb the culture of other countries rather than to propagate her own, with the result that she has remained for a long time past little known to the outside world,” asserted Matsuzo Nagai, chairman of the board of the cultural society Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, in 1939.¹ “Lately, however, our classics as well as our modern sciences have begun gradually to be introduced abroad and in that way the understanding of our country by others is making satisfactory progress. . . . Friendship between nations can best be cultivated when there exists a true understanding by one nation of the culture of another. The importance, therefore, can hardly be exaggerated that the attention of the world be directed to international exchange in academic and cultural fields.”

Such a program as Nagai indicated was new for Japan on any considerable scale, but its roots are farther back in the past than we are likely to think. The first description of Japan by a European was a sixteenth-century account by Fernão Mendes Pinto, a Portuguese, whose description still “stands today as one of the great documents of cultural contact with the Orient.”² The Portuguese and Spanish caravels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that trafficked with the Moluccas, China, and Japan sometimes brought back passengers as well as freight. An embassy from “Maza-

muna, King of Voxú [Japan]"—according to the Spanish Archives—in 1614 brought to the city of Seville in Spain a sword and dagger "of great artistic merit" and a letter in which the King desired the friendship of the city, saying that he had heard how in Seville "many ships from all over the world [met] and accordingly there are many pilots and other persons expert in navigation. May Your Worship summon them and find out from them if it is possible to navigate directly from Japan to this city, by what route or in what port or ports would one go. Please send us a full explanation so that if it be possible, our vessels may sail this route every year and our wish be fulfilled, and our friendship be very strong and communicable."³

"Communicability," in any great degree, however—in spite of the eager interest of one seventeenth-century Japanese ruler—entered late, and then as a matter of expediency, into Japan's cultural relations with the outside world. One of the first European countries to establish a reciprocal cultural relationship with Japan was France. In our own day, of the several Japanese-French organizations of such interchange existing at the beginning of the Pacific War, *La Société Franco-Japonaise* had been founded in Tokyo in 1886 and was financed by the French Government. This organization fostered the Tokyo Law School and the Japanese-French Law School which in 1903 had changed its name to Hosei University; and through the years encouraged and provided facilities for teaching French in Japan.⁴ *La Société Franco-Japonaise des Sciences pures et appliquées*, established in 1933 at Tokyo, has sponsored interchange in translation and distribution of French and Japanese scientific works and has been responsible for selection of the "Committee of the Japanese Section of the Diffusion Committee of Scientific Books of France and Japan." Until 1939 it reported semiannual meetings of French and Japanese scientists.⁵

The Japanese-German Medical Association—Japanisch-Deutsche Medizinische Gesellschaft—established in 1936 to strengthen “relations and friendship between Japanese and German medical men,” in its first three years sponsored “speeches of three German guest-professors, performances of medical movies, special invitation of a world-famous German professor,” and published in German and Japanese pamphlets on the Foundation Harada’s *Errinerungen* in German, and *Japanese-German Medicine*, Volumes I and II; and issued a periodical, *Medizinische Themats*.⁶ Das Deutsche Forschungsinstitut, at Kyoto, was organized in 1933 with an endowment fund of 100,000 yen.⁷ The Japan-Germany Society in Osaka was one of several dissolved in 1943 “in line with a decision of the headquarters at Tokyo” to discontinue regional societies and operate from the capital. A Domei despatch observed that “the Osaka Japan-Germany Society has been actively promoting Japanese-German friendship for twenty-three years—since the end of the last World War. The Society was established December 18, 1920, with former German Ambassador to Tokyo Solf personally launching the organization. The Society has been particularly successful in its work of promoting interchange of cultures of the two nations. At present the Osaka Japan-Germany Society has a membership of 612, including 518 Japanese, 94 Germans.”⁸

Meanwhile, progress of the Japanese-German Institute at Berlin under war conditions was reported by Radio Tokyo: “the study of things Japanese is becoming more active all the time, drawing much closer the cultural ties uniting the two nations. According to a statement by the Japanese-German Institute at Berlin, the activities of that Institute are increasing from day to day.”⁹

A Nippon-German cultural agreement for reciprocal translation of publications was concluded at Berlin, July 10, 1943. According to Domei it was “to be executed under

supervision of the Dai Nippon Copyright Protection League, while the German Translations Rights will handle the work in Germany." A spokesman of the Japanese Home Ministry was quoted as saying that the agreement would "accelerate the translation of German-Nippon publications in the contracting countries, and facilitate cultural interchange between them. He said that previously the translation in principle was registered by approval of the owners of copyrights, but by virtue of the provisions in the present agreement, the respective clearance agencies will handle such details. Similarly, no individual negotiations for the stipulation of translation fees henceforth will be necessary, since such fees will be standardized. . . . Like procedure will be taken in Germany." ¹⁰

The Niti-Doku-I Sinzen Kyokai, an association for promoting friendly relations among Germany, Italy, and Japan was established in 1937, two years later had a membership of 15,000, proceeded "through the good offices of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Embassies," and published the *Reports of the Peoples' Envoys Returned from Germany and Italy*. In November, 1937, it held "a celebration of the Anti-Communism Pact by students . . . representing 13 universities" and a "Nippon-Germany-Italy Comity Night, sponsored by the Department of Foreign Affairs and the City of Tokyo, with 18 universities participating." ¹¹

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens, the Germany Eastern-Asia Society with headquarters at Tokyo, was organized in 1873, "to study the countries and the peoples of East Asia and to promote in the world the knowledge of things East Asiatic" and with "the second object . . . to promote scientific, cultural and social relations between Germany and East Asiatic nations, especially Japan." ¹² Der Japonisch-Deutsche Verein was established in 1910, also at Tokyo, "to promote friendly relations between the people of Germany and Japan" and "to study

sciences and other matters in relation to Germany and Japan";¹³ and Das Japonisch-Deutsche Kulturinstitut, a cultural institute dating from 1927, encouraged interchange of German and Japanese art, books, scientific research, and students.¹⁴

Of the several Italian-Japanese cultural organizations, the most active was apparently the most recently founded, the Nippon-Italy Society (Istituto Italo-Giapponese) established at Tokyo in 1927, which in 1939 "sent Dr. Misio Isimoto to Italy as an exchange professor and Mr. Yosiro Masui to Naples as a teacher of Japanese languages."¹⁵

In 1939 the number of cultural societies or cultural institutes in Japan—from the Japan-British Society founded in 1909 to the Afghanistan Club established in 1935—included groups more or less official in nature, with memberships of variable numbers and enthusiasm, but ranging, at least on paper, through groups bearing such names as Japan-America, Nippon-Brazil, Japan-Turkish, Nippon-Magyar, Nippon-Roumanian, Nippon-Portugal, Nippon-Soviet, Japan-Czechoslovakia, Nippon-Poland, Japan-Finland, Mexico-Japan, Australia-Japan, Nippon-Argentine, Japanese-Canada, Japan-Denmark, Japan-Sweden, Japan-Norway, Nippon-Spain, Nippon-Belgium, and so to a group that was apparently subsidized by Japan itself: the Philippine Society of Japan, the Siam Society, and the like.¹⁶ Establishment of many such cultural organizations continued during the war, both in Japan and in Japanese-dominated areas. In the summer of 1943, Masayuki Yokoyama, Japanese Minister to French Indo-China and the first Director of the Japan-French Indo-China Cultural Institute, delivered an address on the exchange of culture between Japan and French Indo-China. The new cultural institute, he said, "by initiating cultural undertakings more positively hereafter, will make the French Indochinese and the Annamese understand the true Japanese culture, affording them the facilities

of Japanese research associations in the fields of history, economy, and culture. Consequently, utmost efforts will be devoted to interchange of culture between Japan and French Indo-China . . . the exchange of students, the organization of national facilities, and the holding of lecture meetings, short training courses and motion picture showings.”¹⁷

The following year, in the conquered city of Peiping, the inaugural meeting of the “Cultural Federation of the Republic of China”—described by Radio Tokyo as “comprising eight powerful cultural parties in Central China”—adopted “a firm resolution for the creation and exaltation of racial and characteristic cultures.”¹⁸ Another resolution declared the new association’s purpose “to assemble and concentrate the total power of all the cultural societies so that knowledge of China’s original culture may become widely known, as a contribution toward the liberation of the East Asiatic peoples and toward world peace.”¹⁹

A half-century earlier, at Tokyo, the Eastern Uni-Cultural Society (*Toa Dobunka*) had been organized to promote Japanese and Chinese culture and material friendship. It established at Shanghai a commercial high school for Japanese students, managed the Koken Middle School in Hangkow and the Tyu-niti Institute at Tientsin for Chinese students wishing to learn Japanese and prepare for further study in Japan, and published “The Far Eastern Weekly,” *Toa Syuho*.²⁰

The Eastern Asia Economic Research Society, which in 1929 had 2,350 members, was to investigate and study economic conditions in Eastern Asia. Activities included research, bi-monthly lectures, publication of a quarterly journal and of occasional books, public meetings, and brief study courses.²¹

The Japan-China Educational Association (*Nikka Gakkai*) stated its purposes to be the establishment of schools for preparatory education for students from China and

Manchoukuo, and the operation of Toa Gakko School of the East, at Tokyo. Its publications included reports of education of Chinese in Japan and the annual report of the Japan-China Educational Association.²²

The government-subsidized Great Oriental Cultural Association (Daito Bunka Kyokai) was established in 1923 for "the promotion of cultures unique to Eastern Asia." It purposed through its Research Department "to enhance the Nippon spirit in speeches, publications, lectures, etc., to study the essence of Oriental culture on the basic principle of learning, and to render with all sincerity, service of gratitude to the State; through the Cultural Department, to hold lectures, classes, etc., for the purpose of attaining the object of the Association"; and through the Publication Department "to issue the Society organ *Daito Bunka* monthly, and many other publications . . . which contribute toward the promotion of Oriental culture and enhancement of the Nippon spirit. *Chinese Classical Essays* issued semi-annually, in spring and autumn, is a means of making researches public."²³

The Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs subsidized the Institute of Oriental Culture founded at Kyoto in 1926 to "promote the study and diffusion of Chinese culture and thereby contribute to the advancement of culture in general."²⁴

A wartime gesture of cultural rapprochement on a different scholastic level was the decision of the Japanese Ministry of Education in November, 1943, to make "a drastic change" in textbooks for "the national schools and also in those of the middle schools." Innovations included "publication of two middle school grammar books and two Chinese composition books. . . . The middle school Chinese composition book . . . is a new publication that will lead students of Chinese composition to study it as a Japanese classic."²⁵

The Imperial Romaji Club of Osaka (Taikoku Romaji

Klub), a foundation, advocated writing Japanese in Roman letters and promoted Japanese language classes. It sponsored "summer courses in Roman letters in primary schools in the city of Osaka" and distributed gratis to foreigners on request the monthly publication *Romaji Bungakai*.²⁶

The Japanese Women's Overseas Association, assisted by a subsidy from the Department of Overseas Affairs, was established in 1927 to encourage "overseas emigration of Japanese and promotion of international goodwill." It published the *Japanese Women's Overseas Association News*. Its main activities (1927-39) are listed as having been:

1. Mediation for marriage for those Japanese emigrating to South America, South Sea Islands, etc., and for those Japanese residing abroad.
2. Provision of facilities to second generations for visiting the motherland on educational tours.
3. Reception of sightseeing parties, envoys, and other visitors from Brazil.
4. Reception of sightseeing parties, envoys and other visitors from Argentina.
5. Reception of delegates of various countries to the International Red Cross Conference.
6. Reception of delegates of different countries to the World Educational Conference.

It listed among its activities also "direction and education of Japanese oversea emigrants, exchanges of cultures with foreign countries," and "sending of women envoys to foreign countries."²⁷

The Institute of Art Research, a government institution established in 1930, published regularly a *Year Book of Japanese Art* and other art studies. In 1938 it began annual publication of *Masterpieces of Japanese Art*, and in 1932 inaugurated *Bijutsu Kenkyu* ("The Journal of Art Studies") published monthly with an English summary.²⁸

Activities of the Musical Society of Japan, established in 1932 and receiving government subsidy, ranged from investigation of the unification of the musical vocabulary and monthly publication (to June 1936) of *Musical Compositions*, to a campaign for funds for a monument to Saint-Saëns.²⁹

The Association of Great Asia, founded in 1934 to promote friendship, mutual knowledge, and cooperation between Japan and other countries of Asia and to disseminate Japanese culture among them, aimed also at "realization of an Asiatic federation with the whole of Asia as one family."³⁰

Its activities were listed as :

1. Encouragement of the Japanese people in obtaining knowledge and understanding of Asia, introducing to them the conditions of the said countries.
2. Presentation and propagation of Japan and Manchoukuo to other Asiatic countries.
3. Investigation on trade and commerce with each of the said countries.
4. Exchange of professors and students and investigation.
5. Management of a school and library and publication work.³¹

The Nippon Cinema Foundation (Dai Nippon Eiga Kyo-kai) was organized in 1935 "by the united efforts of the Government and the people" to encourage and "refine" motion pictures. It published a magazine, *Nippon Eiga*; investigated, translated and published motion picture legislation "of some countries" (Germany and France, notably); and encouraged production of "culture films."³²

The International Student Institute (Kokusai Gakuyu Kai) founded in 1935 and reporting 175 student members in 1939, was subsidized by the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

"International exchange of culture through students of

various countries of the world" and "protection and direction of foreign students studying in Japan" were its objectives; and its listed activities included principally student exchange and Japanese-language teaching to foreigners.

In accordance with the Kokusai Gakuyu Kai's extensive program, during the years following its inception, students from every country of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere," the African colonies, India, the Philippines, Brazil, and several Ibero American Republics, as well as many students from the United States who had traveled to Japan on their own funds to pursue cultural studies and the arts, made use of its facilities.

Many students from oriental countries went to Japan to study such technical subjects as engineering, electricity, canning, sericulture, and tobacco propagation. They were required to attend the Kokusai Gakuyu Kai in order to learn Japanese and be "indoctrinated" before entering the technical schools. During indoctrination, visits to cultural exhibits were encouraged and tickets to musical performances and Japanese drama as well as to lectures on all phases of Japanese cultural development were showered upon them.

Travel grants under the guise of government-sponsored tours were arranged also for various groups of professional and non-professional people from many countries; these included garden tours and tours for schoolteachers, as well as student tours in connection with the Japan-America student conferences. Although such tourists either paid their own ocean transportation or had it furnished by the group they represented, upon arrival in Japan they became guests of the Japanese Board of Tourist Industry and Government Railways, and of divers Japanese civic groups interested in promoting Japanese culture, or "the Japanese point of view." Usually the tourists were shown the country's scenic beauties and were introduced to Japanese cultural arts through exhibits, lectures, and often through gifts of handi-

craft. Other societies, such as the Nippon Bunka Chuo Renmei, specialized in the dissemination of literature and photographic interpretations of oriental culture.

Reporting the central meeting at Tokyo on November 7, 1943 of the Meiji Shrine People's Training Meet, Radio Tokyo announced as a special feature closing the Meet "mass calisthenics of youths from all areas of Greater East Asia." There were at that time 190 foreign students continuing work at Japanese universities during the war. The number included "40 from China, 40 from Manchukuo, 7 from French Indo-China, 24 from Java, 7 from Sumatra, 11 from the Celebes, 10 from Thailand, 26 from the Philippines, 7 from Burma, 10 from Borneo and 8 from Malaya."³³

The Japan Student Association, with headquarters at International Student House in Tokyo, was organized "to promote international friendship, to introduce Japanese civilization through the English language, and to establish friendly relations among students in Japan."³⁴ With a membership composed of university and college students studying English, it organized Japan-America student conferences in 1934, 1936, 1938, and 1940, and two Philippine-Japan student conferences. American students organized reciprocally three America-Japan student conferences.

As regards overseas activity, the first Japanese schools in South America were established in the first decade of the present century, primarily for the children of Japanese merchants and farmers in Brazil and Peru. At first these schools, religious and private, apparently did not receive aid from the Japanese Government, which later, however, supplemented their resources by subsidy. It is estimated that some twenty-five Japanese schools had been established in Peru by 1941, and about four times that many in Brazil. Even before Brazil entered the war, these schools were for the most part "interventored"—strictly supervised by Brazilian authorities—or closed. Nevertheless such an item as

the following, published in *Folha Carioca* of Rio de Janeiro on September 28, 1944, reported a not uncommon incident, the trial and conviction to six-months imprisonment of "a Japanese subject, resident in São Paulo, for having violated the nationalization laws by teaching the Japanese language to twelve children of Nipponese origin."

Japanese newspapers in Argentina continued publication throughout the war, and were closed in August, 1945 by Juan Cooke when he was appointed Foreign Minister.

The stress placed by Japan on cultural relations as an instrument of national policy was intensified after Pearl Harbor. The greatness of Asiatic culture as a whole, and the inadequacy of the recognition accorded it by the Western World, was a frequent topic of radio broadcasts. C. S. Ku, for instance, a Chinese scholar broadcasting an English-language series entitled "This Is the Story" over Radio Tokyo, declared:

The West came to the East to impart, but not to learn, which was a misfortune as all will recognize now. Perhaps Asia did have more to begin by learning from the West, but at the same time, what misunderstandings, what eventual mis-steps, friction and unhappiness could have been avoided, had the West received, in proportion what they gave to the East.³⁵

Another broadcast from Tokyo declared: "Speaking from the cultural viewpoint, despite the fact that Asia has the highest civilization and today has a glorious culture of her own, she permitted the establishment of the cultures of the United States and Britain, and thereby lost the qualification of an individual continent of Asia. Unless the foregoing matters are thoroughly and perfectly revived, the liberation of Asia cannot be termed accomplished."³⁶

Reporting in Malayan to Indonesia the Greater East Asia Convention held in the fall of 1943, with delegates from

Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, Java and other regions, Radio Tokyo commented:

War brings also complete culture which it is to be hoped will create a new world. . . . In order to build a complete Greater East Asia during this war, you must all unite the spirit of the people. . . . Every nation in this common prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia must understand that one of the ways to achieve this aim is to join together by means of culture.⁸⁷

Not only in the foreign language broadcasts but in the Home and Empire Service the same note was struck. Kiyotaka Uchida, in an address over the Hsinking Radio asserted in October, 1943 that from a cultural standpoint, war was being waged to the utmost by the Japanese, a war that would decide "the winner in culture": "Oriental culture and oriental civilization will win if we win this Greater East Asia war," which was, he said, not Japan's war only, but that of Asia's billion as well.⁸⁸ In another Japanese Home Service Broadcast, on cultural research for the construction of the Greater East Asia Sphere, Yasusaburu (Tsurumi) of the Greater East Asia Spiritual Research also characterized the war as "a war for culture." Italy, he said, had been famed for culture, but "a culture that leads a nation to destruction cannot rightly be so called." Occidental culture had been drawing the Japanese away from their own: "True culture cannot underestimate the value of a man. . . . What is our culture? Our culture is that which teaches our way of happiness to every member of the Greater East Asia Sphere. Our culture is different from what the Occidental believes in. Our mission in this war is to teach the Imperial way. This war will expel the occidental concept of culture."⁸⁹

The Greater East Asia Ancient Culture Federation, "composed of persons affiliated to Japan and China," was organized with the support "of the Greater East Asia Ministry

and prominent individuals of China" and with the avowed purpose "of effecting friendly relations between Japan and China through study of the culture of ancient time."⁴⁰ Its inaugural undertaking was a round table conference at Tokyo in July, 1943, attended by scholars carrying on research in the cultural history of China and of Japan. In the same year the Nippon Cultural Service Society inaugurated a project for publishing in the languages of the several countries a collection of works representative of Greater East Asian culture; a project designed, according to Domei, "to secure a vigorous cultural inter-relationship among the countries of the Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Japanese books for translation were chosen by a committee "of forty prominent writers," and a similar selection of works for translation into Japanese was requested from each of the other countries.⁴¹

Regional projects were evolved independently within the larger effort. A Domei broadcast made the following announcement, for example:

In order to promote advanced culture among the people of Bali, who for centuries have been influenced by superstitions and habits derived from a special branch of Hinduism, a Bali Cultural Research Society has been organized here under sponsorship of the Japanese Military authorities. The Society will undertake also the compilation of the history of Bali culture. . . . The Bali Cultural Research Society, after gathering a wide collection of data, will publish pamphlets illustrated with photographs, to teach by degrees true and worthwhile principles to the inhabitants, leading them away from superstitious habits and customs based on various religious rites. At the same time the Society is obtaining the services of Idaptomarong, native scholar and authority on Bali history, who will compile Bali cultural history in order to disseminate a correct account of the Island's culture.⁴²

In an extensive broadcast in Spanish to South America on December 30, 1943, Radio Tokyo discussed the religious policy of the Japanese Government with relation to Greater East Asia. It included the following statements:

As religion is of such primordial importance for every people, any government in any country which has proceeded to suppress the religions for any reason has had to experience grave obstacles. . . . This is the reason why Japan, upon initiating war operations in the southern regions, adopted the firm policy of respecting and protecting the religion of each local town. Among the various religions prevalent in the zones under the Japanese domination, the most outstanding are the Moslem religion, widespread through Malaya and the former Dutch possessions of the East Indies, and the Catholic religion, which is an object of devotion by the Filipino people. The attitude of the Japanese forces toward these two most important religions in these regions is the most respectful and benign possible, so that the attitude is the object of profound gratitude on the part of the inhabitants everywhere.

The fact that when a great Moslem festival was held in Malaya the Japanese lent all sorts of help, such as granting them special ships and permitting advances on salary, is still fresh in our mind. . . . As for the Catholic religion . . . the Japanese Imperial Government set up a Legation in the Holy See shortly after the outbreak of the War in spite of having much [to occupy its attention]. . . .

To what is due this so respectful attitude of the Japanese forces in regard to religion? Undoubtedly it comes from the traditionally spontaneous religious sentiment existing among the Japanese people. . . . Freedom of religion was proclaimed under the Government of restored Imperial power in 1875 . . . the religious policy cultivated by such a traditional spirit and with such historic antecedents is being sustained firmly so that there

is no doubt that it will continue, greatly to the moral well-being of the people in the zones under Japanese domination.

The East Asia Religious League, embracing the Shinto, Buddhist, Christian, and Mohammedan religions in Japan, held a conference at Tokyo in June, 1943 for the purpose of discussing "ways and means of realizing the closest religious cooperation among the member races in the Co-Prosperity Sphere." Four hundred delegates of religious organizations attended. "The inaugural session of the conference, which was suggested by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association . . . heard felicitatory messages from the Education Minister, the Asiatic Affairs Minister and the president of the Board of Information, as well as the Chinese and Thai Ambassadors."⁴³ This League formed an East Asia Religious Music Society, which, established to further "unity of one billion inhabitants of East Asia by means of religious music," inaugurated its activities with "a great religious concert at the Hibiya Civic Auditorium at Tokyo," performing "the religious music that belongs to Shintoism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism."⁴⁴

Cultural relationships through the religious approach were extremely diversified and carefully worked out with ideological idiosyncrasies always in mind. The following scattered examples are typical. A pictorial magazine on Japanese Buddhists edited by the International Buddhist Society which began publication in 1943 "to promote the exchange of Buddhist culture between Japan and other countries of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" was publicized in Domei despatches.⁴⁵ According to a series of Japanese radio broadcasts—which in spite of their particularity as to circumstance were not wholly convincing—Buddha's ashes were removed to Japan in the spring of 1944. Japan announced intention to "rebuild pagodas destroyed

in Burma by Anglo-American air raids." The traditional grain festival of the Indonesians, the Pasan Malang, held at Macassar, received support from the Japanese military government, which erected a pavilion "to reveal Japan's activities in all fields" and gave special encouragement to the sports contests.⁴⁶ When in observance of the birthday of the Chinese sea-god Kew-Leong-Yesh pilgrims climbed the Temple of the One Thousand Two Hundred Steps at Paya Terubong, that fact also was widely proclaimed by Domei.⁴⁷ An exchange of radio greetings between Japanese and Javanese Moslems, in the Japanese, Malayan, and Arabic languages, was declared to mark "a new epoch in religious relations between Japan and Java."⁴⁸ The "Church Home News" of Radio Tokyo beamed in English to the western United States a program honoring the birthday of Joe Nijima, founder of Doshisha University, and made special mention of two books: *Catholicism in Japan*, by Uho Obisawa, and *A History of Roman Catholicism in Nagasaki Province* by Yasua Iwakawa.

To enable the 100,000 Moslems in Mengchiang [Inner Mongolia] to participate in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Federated Autonomous Government of Mengchiang today announced the policy for educating and guiding them. [This is the voice of Radio Tokyo, June 18, 1948]. According to the announcement, the policy aims to educate and raise the status of the Moslems so as to qualify them for the work of constructing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It also aims to protect and purify their religion, promote harmony with other races and instil in them anti-Communism. In order to carry out this policy, the Government will foster vocational training and industrial enterprise; give guidance in improvement of living, sanitation and hygiene; organize an elementary school system for religious guidance and conduct house-to-house investigations.⁴⁹

The Japanese Military Administration in Java gave official recognition to two Moslem institutes of which the declared objectives were "to propagate their religion in line with the noble idea of the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and to push on the cultural work through public work."⁵⁰

Reactions to this religious aspect of the Japanese cultural relations program were reported frequently by radio. A Domei broadcast in English to the American Zone in September, 1943, declared that in Iba of the Philippine Province of Zambales, "the local Methodist church is taking a lead to popularize the Japanese language as the common language of Greater East Asia and has added Japanese to its secondary school curriculum. . . ." ⁵¹ A few days later in another American-beamed broadcast Domei reported that "interest among the religious elements to learn the Japanese language is being more widely and more extensively manifest than ever. It is learned [that] among the hundreds who were taking an examination in Manila for Japanese-language teacher's certificates yesterday, there were more than thirty nuns and Sisters of Mercy. One nun said that Japanese is a full, rich language which is worthy of becoming the medium of expression of Greater East Asia: 'I hope to teach the language to students not just as a language but with the idea it is a common language linking all East Asia.' " ⁵²

In November of the same year "A Call to Unity" by Nathan Samno, General Secretary of the Evangelical Church of the Philippines, broadcast over Japanese-controlled Manila Radio, declared:

Because they have a common sacred book, the Holy Scriptures, a common faith, and a common Saviour, I believe that all, the Evangelical, the Roman Catholic, and the Philippine Independent Church . . . should reveal that they belong to one religion, which is the religion of Jesus Christ, and work together for the

building of the Kingdom of God in the Philippines, and particularly for the spiritual unity of the Filipino people. . . . A book entitled *Japanese Religion* . . . says: "Shinto teaches the way of oneness. . . . The greatness of Japan lies in the manifestation of Shinto. . . . Our triumph in war, our scientific and artistic triumphs are due to Shinto. . . ." The Evangelical Church has become united and hopes thereby to aid in unifying the Filipino people. . . . Heed, then, the call to Unity . . . the call to racial unity, the call to political unity, and the call to spiritual unity.⁶³

On August 31, 1945 Father Patrick Byrne, "an American Catholic priest who was permitted to walk the streets of ancient Kyoto freely all through the war," "the only American free in Kyoto," was quoted by INS correspondent Howard Handleman as stating that throughout the war "the Japanese permitted me to say Mass alone but refused permission for Japanese Catholics to attend."⁶⁴ Nevertheless, religious freedom for all worshippers as an item in cultural propaganda had been reported in the following fashion by a Domei broadcast in English under a Kuala Lumpur dateline (December 3, 1943):

Local religious leaders point unanimously to the absolute freedom all religions enjoy from any sort of interference by the State. Anglo-American lies about Nippon's attitude toward religion is exposed to ridicule by them, for this non-interference rendered all religions free from any political bias. In addition, they said the Nippon Military Administration has been giving all material assistance to various religions to conduct activities. The Roman Catholics, said the Reverend Father D. Perrison of St. John's Church, are particularly thankful to the Nippon Administration, not only for its humane tolerance but timely help extended now and again. In fact, the Convent and Orphanage still receive a subsidy from the Government. In due appreciation of this magnanimity, he added, St. John's Church will hold a

special prayer for Nippon's victory. The Reverend S. S. Pakanathan, of the local Methodist Church, said, "The Methodist Churches of Selangor Pahang and their pastors have been receiving fair treatment since the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War from the Government. We have been permitted to conduct our worship services and religious activities freely without any hindrance whatsoever. We have been cooperating with the Government in shepherding members of our congregation so they may live their normal lives contentedly and help one another. The Methodist Church is no less thankful than other Churches and a special prayer meeting will be held." "The Moslems in Selangor," said Kathu of Kuala Lumpur, "are very thankful to Nippon's administration for the religious peace granted them. Our anxiety about Nippon violating the mosques, as propagandized by the British, was set at rest from the earliest days of the Nippon occupation. We are extremely grateful for Nippon cooperation, and in the spirit of reciprocity we hold a special prayer for the victory of Nippon in the War of Greater East Asia, whose moral aims day by day become clearer and clearer."

Likewise, the Reverend Bhikku Dhammadassi, speaking in behalf of the Selangor Buddhists, referred in glowing terms . . . to two hundred military officers of the Nippon Administration who have attended Full Moon services at the [Buddhist] Temple [of Kuala Lumpur]. He expressed the gratitude of the Buddhists, and added that the Buddhists will pray for the triumph of moral justice.

In November, 1943 Radio Tokyo reported that the Greater East Asia Religious Federation had decided to inaugurate "a strong movement to contribute to the construction of the Greater East Asia through religion in accordance with the announcement of the Greater East Asia joint declarations," thus "uniting the strength of the four religious organizations of Shinto, Buddhism, Christianity and Mohammedanism in the Greater East Asia." Announcement was

made also of the organization of "the Greater East Asia Religious Liaison Cooperative Associations for the plan of culture of the Greater East Asia and to engender closer relationship."⁵⁵

Early in 1944 the Japanese Ministry of Education announced creation of a Religious Enlightenment Policy Commission, or Religious Cultural Measures Committee, "a powerful body that can control the whole of the religious world." With the Minister of Education as presiding officer, the Commission's thirty members included representatives of the Ministries of War, Navy, Justice, Education, Greater East Asia, and Home Affairs, and of the Board of Information and the Legislative Bureau. Averring that "eighteen Shinto sects, twenty-eight Buddhist sects, and two Christian denominations are all striving to cooperate with the national policy," the Commission stated its purpose to be "rousing the ardor of the 300,000 teachers and priests belonging to 100,000 temples and churches."⁵⁶ Within the year—by October, 1944—this commission had acquired a differently expressed orientation under the new name of the "Dai Nippon Wartime Religious Patriotic Service Association" (*Dai Nippon Senji Shukyo Hokoku Kai*) a "group of integrated religions," the object of which was to "cooperate effectively in the prosecution of the War, as well as in the establishment of an East Asia based on morality and justice." The Association, like the preceding Commission, included Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity, but made no mention of the Moslems, and, again like its predecessor, had the Minister of Education as chairman.⁵⁷

The avowed nationalistic note was sounded again strongly in the religious program when, in May, 1945, a Japanese Home and Empire Service broadcast declared: "The nation's religions have greatly contributed to the boundless development of the Empire. Herein exists the main object of re-

ligion.”⁵⁸ Thereafter, and to the close of the war, monitored broadcasts of Japanese origin dealing with religious topics left off being arguments for Greater East Asia unification through religious culture, or expressions of fact or opinion indicating progress toward that goal, and became impassioned utterances of the philosophy of the war gods of Japan.

In view of the traditional subjection of Japanese women, an extremely interesting feature of Japan's wartime cultural program was the prominence given to women's activities in foreign language broadcasts from Tokyo. In April, 1943 Domei announced in Spanish to South America that a farewell meeting had been held at Bangkok “in honor of the Indian women who will soon leave for Burma as volunteers in the army of Free India,”⁵⁹ and announced in another broadcast equal pay for women workers in munitions factories in Japan. A June broadcast praised the adequacy and scientific efficiency of “maternity rooms for Moslem women” newly established at Macassar.⁶⁰ In September, Radio Tokyo, broadcasting to Europe in Italian, announced that an essay by “Mrs. Mahomed Paturi, an Indonesian journalist employed in the local office of Domei in Djakarta won the contest on the founding of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, sponsored by the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi*.” The broadcast added: “The head of the Office of General Affairs of our Military Government in Java, exultant at the fact that the first prize winner in this contest was a native Javanese . . . encouraged her to interest herself even more assiduously in her work as a journalist.”⁶¹ “The Church News Hour,” broadcast in English to the western United States by Radio Tokyo, reported the visit to Japan of “Mrs. Shimizu, a Christian woman educator of Peking,” with a two-fold purpose: “to create proper understanding regarding China and to solicit funds for a Christian girls' school of which she is principal.”⁶² The Japanese novelist, Jiru Osa-

ragi, on a cultural mission to Java including a series of lectures, was accompanied by the Japanese woman writer, Masako Inouye.⁶³

In addition to cultural approaches on the basis of a common Asiatic background and of religious beliefs held in common, Japan's cultural relations program had especial regional orientation for each region of southeast Asia.

The cooperation of Thailand, as a sovereign state, was courted assiduously, and with the more assurance since Japan and Thailand have had for several hundred years a well-established commercial relationship. Japanese cultural propaganda emphasized the arts and took the line that the two countries have a common racial origin and religious beliefs in common. Occupation of Thailand by Japan, however, counteracted such arguments.

The Cultural Treaty with Thailand signed on October 28, 1942 and ratified December 21, was frankly described by Tokyo as a move for future treaties with other Asiatic nations that would facilitate "cultural expansion" and "the promotion of military and economic collaboration."⁶⁴

The following is the full text of this cultural agreement, as announced by the Japanese Board of Information and reported by Domei on December 22, 1942:

His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, and His Majesty, the King of Thailand, being desirous of contributing to the advancement of the culture of East Asia, and at the same time strengthening further the bond of friendship so happily existing between the two countries by promoting more and more cultural relations between the two countries, and with mutual respect for the intrinsic features of the culture of their respective countries and in close collaboration, have resolved to conclude a cultural agreement for that purpose, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Masayuki Tani, Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Majesty the King of Thailand;

Direck Chayanama, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Thailand to Japan, who after having communicated to each other their respective full powers found in due form and have agreed upon the following articles:

Cultural Consolidation—ARTICLE I. The high contracting parties shall endeavor to deepen the mutual knowledge and understanding between the two countries by consolidating the foundation of cultural relations between them and shall collaborate most closely for this purpose in all cultural fields.

Convening of Conferences—ARTICLE II. The high contracting parties shall from time to time convene cultural conferences for the purpose of deliberation on the progress of the development of the culture of the two countries and shall endeavor to extend assistance to conferences organized for the said purpose.

Development of Institutions—ARTICLE III. The high contracting parties shall endeavor to establish, maintain and develop institutions contributing to the promotion of culture between the two countries and shall mutually afford every possible facility in respect thereof. The institutions referred to in the preceding paragraph shall include other scientific organizations, institutions, and sanitary institutions for charitable purposes.

Chairs of Culture—ARTICLE IV. Each of the high contracting parties shall give particular consideration to the establishment, maintenance, and development in universities of the country of chairs on the culture of the other. Each of the high contracting parties shall give particular consideration to periodical exchange, sending or inviting professors, scholars and specialists for the purpose of conducting courses or delivering lectures on the culture of the two countries. The high contracting parties shall mutually afford every possible facility for the execution of the provisions in the preceding three paragraphs.

Research Workers—ARTICLE V. The high contracting parties shall by mutual accord periodically exchange, or shall send or invite research workers, students, and pupils for the purpose of studying the culture of the two countries. The high contracting

parties shall endeavor to exchange, send or invite apprentice-students and short-term students.

Scholarship Funds—The high contracting parties shall mutually afford every possible facility for the execution of the provisions of the preceding two paragraphs and shall give consideration to the establishment of scholarship funds. Each of the high contracting parties shall afford similar facilities to scholars and specialists of the other coming for the purpose of studying the culture of its own country.

Authors and Artists—ARTICLE VI. The high contracting parties shall encourage the activities of authors, artists and religionists whom they deem contributory to promotion of cultural relations between the two countries and shall endeavor to exchange, send or invite such persons.

Plays, Dances, Music—The high contracting parties shall encourage the performance of plays, dances and music which they deem contributory to the promotion of cultural relations between the two countries and shall endeavor to exchange, send or invite individuals and parties engaged in these pursuits.

Exchange of Publications—ARTICLE VII. Each of the high contracting parties shall endeavor to supply the other, in as large quantities and as frequently as possible, with publications, cinematographic films, lantern slides, photographs, gramophone records and musical scores of its country which it deems contributory to promoting the mutual knowledge and understanding between the two countries, and the other shall give special consideration as to their preservation, distribution, presentation and exhibition so that these may be utilized effectively in its country.

Works of Art—The high contracting parties shall exchange lists, publications and works of art of each country deemed to be worthy of being introduced to the other and shall endeavor to introduce and diffuse them by appropriate means.

Books and Exhibits—The high contracting parties shall endeavor to extend their necessary good offices and assistance for the translation and reproduction of the above-mentioned publications and

works of art. Each of the high contracting parties shall endeavor to extend the collection of books and exhibits concerning the other in libraries and museums in its country and shall afford every possible facility to nationals of the other in regard to the utilization of these.

Organization of Exhibitions—ARTICLE VIII. The high contracting parties shall from time to time organize exhibitions for the purpose of promoting the mutual knowledge and understanding of sciences, fine arts and industrial arts of the two countries, and shall endeavor to extend the necessary good offices and assistance in organizing exhibitions held for such purpose.

Radio Broadcasts—ARTICLE IX. Each of the high contracting parties shall have radio organizations in its country make periodical broadcasts to the other and shall have them relay periodical broadcasts from the other. Each of the high contracting parties shall from time to time have radio organizations in its country broadcast lectures, entertainments and music concerning the culture of the other.

Athletic Contests—ARTICLE X. The high contracting parties shall endeavor to exchange, send or invite parties of youth and juvenile athletic teams in order to promote amicable intercourse between their nations. The high contracting parties shall endeavor to exchange, send or invite sight-seeing parties and educational tour parties in order to promote the mutual knowledge and understanding of the two countries. The high contracting parties shall mutually afford every possible facility for the execution of the provisions of the preceding two paragraphs.

ARTICLE XI. The high contracting parties shall endeavor to establish a cultural institute each in the capital of the other for the purpose of contributing to the promotion of cultural relations between the two countries and every possible facility to the activities of said institutes.

Cultural Committee—ARTICLE XII. The high contracting parties shall establish a cultural working committee in Tokyo and Bangkok respectively in order to maintain liaison between the

two countries regarding the execution of the provision of the present agreement. Diplomatic authorities of the high contracting parties shall decide by mutual accord details concerning the organization and function of said committee.

Diplomatic Duties—ARTICLE XIII. Diplomatic authorities of the high contracting parties shall decide by mutual accord details concerning the execution of the provisions of the present agreement.

Ratification—ARTICLE XIV. The present agreement shall be ratified and the ratification thereof shall be exchanged at Bangkok as soon as possible. The present agreement shall be enforced from the date of exchange of the ratification and shall remain in force for 10 years from that date.

Year's Notice for Abrogation—In case neither of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other one year prior to the expiration of said 10-year period of its intention to terminate the present agreement, it shall continue in force until the expiration of one year from the date on which either party shall have given such notice.

Affixing of Seals—In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present agreement and have hereunto affixed their seals. Done in duplicate in the Japanese and Thai languages in Tokyo this 28th day of the 10th month in the 17th year of Showa, corresponding to the 28th day, 10th month, in the 2,485th year of the Buddhist era.

Signed. Masayuki Tani Direck Chayanama.

In Burma also, where nationalistic feeling is deep-rooted and tenacious, Japan apparently felt that there was little profit to be had from large financial investment by the Japanese Government in a cultural program attempting to Nipponize the people. Many cultural activities were, however, carried over. A Japanese cultural institute was organized at Rangoon in 1942 by the puppet ruler, Ba Maw, with a membership made up "of a few Burmese newspaper-

men and authors and the Japanese press." Toward the close of 1943 Ba Maw announced that plans were underway for a Nippon-Burma Cultural Society at Rangoon patterned on the Burma-Nippon Cultural Society at Tokyo.⁶⁵ It inaugurated its activities in the Burmese capital February 14, 1944 with an address by the Japanese Ambassador, Renzo Sawade, who asserted that "if Burma so studies Nippon culture as to make it part and parcel of Burmese civilization, that will be an enormous contribution to the upbuilding of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Burma has the highest percentage of literacy in southeast Asia. By the spring of 1943, Tokyo reported that textbooks for the schools had been revised "with new thoughts brought in to plant . . . racial pride and healthy ambition in the minds of Burma," and that fifty Japanese-language schools had been opened in Rangoon.⁶⁶ Later in the same year one thousand Burmese schoolteachers from all sections of the country attended a special course at the University of Rangoon designed "to promote knowledge of things Japanese among Burmese teachers." Addressing this group at the opening of the University's autumn session, Ba Maw assured them, "We are creating history. The old order will never return."⁶⁷

Burmese was made the language of instruction in schools and colleges, while other oriental languages, with especial emphasis on Japanese, were stressed throughout the educational system.⁶⁸ In November, 1942, Ba Maw, in an interview given a *Nichi Nichi* correspondent and quoted by Radio Berlin, announced that English would be dropped completely.⁶⁹ However, in spite of this official ban, English continued to be employed in Burmese schools until March, 1943 because of the practical consideration that all records and textbooks are in that language. Even the much-publicized Japanese-Burmese dictionary has definitions in English.⁷⁰ Radio Rangoon, Japanese-controlled station compet-

ing with Chungking and New Delhi, broadcast to India, in thirteen different languages, programs including Japanese language lessons three times a week.⁷¹

Noting that "one cannot actually 'Nipponize' people with a strong national and cultural life of their own, such as the Thai or the Burmese," the Tokyo correspondent of *Der Neue Tag* of Berne, Switzerland made the following observations in an article entitled "Japan's Influence in the Pacific Area":

Japanese cultural activity in the South [Pacific] is characterized by the increase in the number of schools and the spread of the Japanese language. Since 1941 in the Malay States the number of [pupils in] public schools has increased from 1760 to 4000; in the Philippines from 300,000 to 1,000,000; in Java from 1.5 to 2.5 millions and in Celebes from 110,000 to 220,000. Lessons are conducted in the language of the country, but the rudiments of Japanese are taught, usually by local people. Owing to the shortage of instructors, increase in high schools and vocational schools does not take place at the same rate, but much has been done: Shonan has a wholly Japanese medical college. The Japanese are really disseminators of culture in the South, where they promote popular education that had been neglected by the former masters.

The Japanese language is taught not only in public schools but in special language-schools in the occupied territories and in administrative courses for the training of native civil servants. In Shonan there are 16 Japanese language schools and 30,000 natives, i.e. Malaysians, Indonesians, Indians, Chinese, etc., already know Japanese quite well. They are mostly civil servants, teachers, telephone operators, railway employees, etc. English is no longer permitted for official use and is generally frowned upon. In Java the recognized languages are Malay and Japanese. All Indonesians learn Japanese quickly and easily.

Apart from language, practical work with the Japanese impresses the Japanese spirit on the natives. The ways in which the

Japanese establish schools, train recruits, conduct industrial enterprises, are radically different from the old Occidental methods. The Japanese infuse everywhere their own tradition. Thus it is that the Southerners see many things now in a wholly Asiatic and no longer half-Western manner. The feeling that their former master's approach to problems is not the only one has at any rate been awakened for once and for all. Japan has shown many Oriental countries that an independent and Asiatic future is possible, provided they are willing to support it and fight for it. Therefore, even though the present armed conflict between Japan and its enemies has not yet been resolved, it has already been established beyond doubt that the Asiatic ideals and aims which Japan has brought into the Pacific regions will not die out.⁷²

In October, 1943 General Masaharu Homma, former Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese expeditionary forces in the Philippines, declared that because of the great difference of the Filipinos from the other peoples of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in religion and in culture, "which have been influenced by North America," the people of the Philippines "must conquer such difficulties in their determination to be reborn as Asiatics in their manner of thinking and judging things." That same month, members of the Nippon Bunka Kaikan and of the Cultural Federation of the Philippines, meeting together in Manila, agreed "to work in close cooperation for the benefit of the Philippines in particular and the Orient in general. Filipino experts . . . in various fields of culture . . . signified their eagerness to contribute all they can for realization of the aims of the cultural societies."⁷³

However, a Domei despatch to East Asia in May, 1944 said that Filipinos had been influenced for so many years by American "motion pictures and dancing" that it was not easy to "banish America" from Philippine life by "returning 18,000,000 persons made up of nearly fifty tribes and seventy

dialects" to their "original oriental ways": "Our cultural war in the Philippines is devoted mainly to destroying and removing the materialistic culture introduced by America and restoring the original cultures of the Philippines and the Orient"; a task, Domei concluded, that "American bewitchment" was hindering.⁷⁴

In the Japanese-controlled areas of the Pacific the cultural campaign was aimed primarily at the younger generation. The basis of it was the appeal to race pride and race hatred, a call to the Asiatic world to be Asia, with emphasis on the educational advantages offered by Japan to students from other countries. The bonds of a common religion were also stressed in dealing with countries with which that bond exists.

On January 28, 1943 the Tokyo radio quoted a report by the Ministry of Finance—the latest available at this writing—saying that the supplemented Japanese budget for 1943 (apparently referring to the fiscal year ending April 20, 1943) included "about 150,000,000 yen for renovation of cultural education." The same broadcast indicated that this cultural appropriation represented 1.3 per cent of the total budget for the civilian agencies of Japan for 1943.

During peace negotiations, at the end of August, 1945 the importance of renewing the cultural contacts between Japan and the United States was stressed by both official and unofficial Japanese spokesmen. The Reverend Michio Ozaki, Chief of the American Asiatic Board of the Japanese Christian Association, contributed an article to the newspaper *Yomiuri Hochi* (quoted in a Tokyo radio news broadcast on August 28), making a plea for "mutual understanding." In spite of "some impolite elements, among them some that are anti-Japanese," many Americans, he said, have shown a desire to understand Japan that has even been extended to a sincere interest in the Japanese ceremonial with regard to tea and Japanese aesthetics as shown in flower arrange-

ment: "enthusiasm for the study of Japan is prevailing among the Americans" as a general rule, not merely as a "temporary fad during the war period." Premier Prince Naruhiko Higashi-Kuni at a press conference on August 29, 1945, reported in a Domei news despatch, declared that in the field of foreign relations the all-out Japanese war effort would be transformed immediately to "cooperation with other peoples and the cultural development of mankind."

An editorial of the same date in the influential Tokyo newspaper *Asahi* urged Japan to give up the "idea that might is right and subscribe to new internationalism based on mutual and peaceful cooperation among free nations."

*The U.S.S.R.: Cultural Propaganda**



DURING the early years of its existence, the U.S.S.R. had had relatively little cultural contact with the outside world where, nevertheless, a growing curiosity about its activities was developing. Although soon after the Revolution of 1917 foreign tourists and students began to go to the Soviet Union and their reports on what they found contributed to the increased interest of other countries in the cultural, political, and economic life of the Soviet, it was not until after the death of Lenin, when immediate plans for a world revolution were waived, that a public organization, the All Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, was established by a decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.¹ This Society, the Vsesoyuznoe Obshchestvo Kul'turnoi Svyazi s Zagranitse, founded in

* The authors wish to note that, while the official documentation available to them on the U.S.S.R. program of cultural relations abroad during the first years of its existence has been adequate, as compared with that used for the programs of other countries, the available documentation for the later years, from 1930 to 1946, is scattered and in many ways insufficient to give a wholly comprehensive picture. Nevertheless, the same general method used for other countries permits the U.S.S.R. to speak for itself in describing cultural activities carried on abroad by the Government. Thus, through quoting official documents and other firsthand sources, and without comment or criticism by the authors, the development of the Soviet program of cultural relations abroad is described as explained by officials of VOKS, by other Soviet authorities, and by the leaders of Soviet foreign societies and institutes in other countries.

October, 1925, is often called VOKS from the initial letters of the first four words. Its establishment apparently resulted from the Soviet Union's recognition of the desirability of spreading abroad more adequate information about Russian life and thought. In the VOKS *Weekly News Bulletin* for September, 1928 an article entitled "The Third Anniversary of V.O.K.S. To the Intellectuals of the World," stated some of the basic reasons for the Soviet programs of cultural relations, as follows:

Prior to the Great War various nations were connected either by governmental treaties or by the cooperation of scientists of different nationalities. The Great War proved conclusively that such ties were not strong enough. The first rattle of the machine guns was enough for the most civilized nations to throw all their civilization to the winds, and to perpetrate the most barbarous acts of vandalism in the cultured centers of other countries.²

Emphasizing the great responsibility that all thinking men of all nations must face at that time, when the gospel of hate was again being preached, the article continued:

The more formidable the danger of war, the more active must be those who are prepared to fight for peace. Men of art, science, applied arts, all persons of genuine culture must mobilize all their energies for common work to combat the war danger. New generations of intellectuals must clearly understand the part which they must play in such an emergency. They must set before themselves a definite task—to fight the war danger, to agitate for universal peace.

They must lay the foundation of cultural cooperation between the nations and must always remember that this can only be achieved by preserving peace, that their struggle for peace is facilitated by cultural relations which draw the nations nearer together.³

While the progress of art and science could only be furthered through close intercommunication between scholars and artists of all nations, such relationships among the elite of various nations were not enough. The understanding must be established on a sufficiently broad basis to include all the intellectuals and all the masses. According to the article, the battle cry of VOKS was: "The world union of intellectual forces for the triumph of genuine world culture."

The program of VOKS as described in a short history of its activities in the *VOKS Weekly Bulletin* of August 26, 1929 was planned "to demonstrate to foreign countries a general outline of Soviet culture in its totality." ⁴ The *Bulletin* stated that VOKS not only reported the generally recognized fundamental achievements of the U.S.S.R., but made known in foreign countries the more important enterprises of a purely experimental character. The *Bulletin* continued:

VOKS attempts to introduce to foreign countries representatives of the new young Soviet intellectuals who so far have not had time to gain renown in foreign countries. This demonstration of new and hitherto unknown forms of culture and social activity and new achievements in all spheres of construction and life is particularly important for the left [wing] advanced intellectuals abroad.⁵

The organization existed for the whole U.S.S.R. and its administration consisted of representatives from all the republics of the Union, continued the *Bulletin*. Therefore, it combined the people's commissariats interested in the development of relations with foreign countries as well as the large scientific and cultural institutions of the Union.

As an important part of its program VOKS furthered the establishment of relations between interested organizations in the Soviet Union and similar institutions abroad. In this way close cultural ties were established between the Union and other countries and a constant interchange of informa-

tion between Soviet and foreign learned societies, universities, scientific, educational, and artistic organizations was made possible.

Much of the most active work of the Soviet cultural relations program abroad was, from the beginning, carried on through the societies for cultural rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. which were established in many parts of the world.

A Liaison Bureau of VOKS kept in contact with the various countries where these societies existed and where there were separate organizations and groups desirous of maintaining contact with the Soviet Union. As listed in 1927, these cultural societies were some twenty in number, including the Society of Friends of New Russia in Germany (organized in 1923) and a similar group in Great Britain (set up in 1924), the Italo-Russian Institute, the Circle of Belgian Russian Intellectual Relations, the Japanese-Soviet Society, the Society for Friends of Russia in Argentina, and comparable organizations in Finland, Poland, the United States, Persia, China, and Afghanistan.

According to the same historical outline, as a part of the organization of VOKS, a Bureau for the Reception of Foreigners was created which prepared programs for both individuals and groups visiting the U.S.S.R. Informative material on multiple aspects of the Soviet Union was collected and systematized. A Press Bureau provided material about Soviet cultural activities for the foreign press and issued a weekly news magazine in the major European languages. The Press Bureau also planned for the translation of foreign works into Russian and of Russian into other languages.

Eminent figures in international letters and public life were frequently guests of the Government on tours of the country resulting in numerous books and articles about the Soviet Union.

Basic to the entire program was a Bureau of International Book Exchange, stated the *Bulletin*, continuing the analysis

of VOKS activities. Scientific and cultural institutions in the U.S.S.R. were encouraged to exchange with similar institutions in other countries books covering a wide range of knowledge. Much emphasis was laid on supplying bibliographical material. Work was begun on the compilation of a list of Soviet scientific journals, the titles of which were given in Latin letters and translated into English.

Russ-Photo, the first photographic agency in the U.S.S.R., sent the foreign press thousands of Soviet photographs. The exchange of photographs carried on by Russ-Photo, which served all the sections of VOKS, was later transferred to commercial agencies as was most of the exchange of moving pictures, although VOKS maintained a Cinema Section.

VOKS also carried on certain coordinating activities within the U.S.S.R., such as acquainting leaders in various fields with selected information about developments in foreign countries, encouraging foreign language classes for the masses of the Russian people, and sponsoring lectures given by distinguished foreigners visiting the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet cultural relations program with foreign countries, as in the cultural program within the Soviet Union, the highest value was always placed on literature, art, music, the theatre, and the cinema, although scientific achievements and scientific interchange were also considered vital to the development of the U.S.S.R., and were always emphasized.

The spirit of the developing program of Soviet cultural relations, first clearly evidenced in 1925, animates an article entitled "VOKS on the Threshold of 1929," published in the *Weekly News Bulletin* of that organization on January 14, 1929, which says, in part:

The fact that the ties between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world have become considerably simpler and more extensive

of late will make it possible for societies abroad working with us to introduce similar precision into their activities.⁶

The *Russia of the Shadows* of H. G. Wells had long become a thing of the past, stated the article, and the U.S.S.R. was no longer "separated from the rest of the world by clouds and mist."

The true meaning of the historical progress going on in our country is beginning to dawn upon our enemies as well as our friends: for it is no longer possible to deny the vitality and stability of our social order, whatever the inevitable difficulties with which our path has been and still is beset.

The original gloom of ignorance, slander and incomprehension has to a great extent been dispersed. Countless new, living contacts have been set up between the cultural forces of the USSR and those in foreign countries, between Soviet and foreign scientists, artists, and writers, not to mention the fraternal ties between the toilers in the Soviet Union and those in other countries.⁷

Thus a definite cultural reciprocity had been set up between the U.S.S.R. and the rest of the world. A knowledge of Soviet culture was available to all who were interested in life in the U.S.S.R., and Soviet science, art, literature, and law were making themselves felt as new and powerful forces all over the world, concluded the article.

The importance of "an exchange of cultural experience" in the program of the U.S.S.R. was again strongly emphasized in an article on "VOKS and its Problems" by the President of VOKS, F. N. Petrov, which was published in February, 1930. He made it clear that the U.S.S.R. was at that time "confronted with the task of mobilizing on an international scale, all advanced intellectual forces for the solution of the problems brought forward by the epoch." In his analysis of the problems, M. Petrov stated:

The reconstruction of our national economy and socialist construction, based upon careful planning, demanded the introduction of systematic planning in the organization of cultural relations, and the definite coordination of all this work in accordance with the demands of socialist construction. It was on the basis of this demand that VOKS arose as an organization uniting all scientific, cultural, government and public organizations in the USSR in their relations with foreign countries.⁸

According to M. Petrov, the three basic problems which confronted VOKS were:

1. To demonstrate the new culture being constructed by the proletariat in the Soviet Union, in its whole scope, in all its aspects, among all the peoples of the USSR enabled by the Revolution to build up a new culture, national in form and proletarian in essence.
2. To facilitate the revolutionary critical assimilation of the cultural achievements of other countries in those spheres of science and technique in which they may be most advanced.
3. To develop the permanent cooperation of cultural forces in the USSR and the whole world, based upon the achievements already made in many branches of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, representing as they do a real contribution to modern science and culture as a whole.

Throughout this work it is important to demonstrate the high aspirations of our socialist culture, advancing so boldly and steadily in its revolutionary movement and mass proletarian creation.⁹

In February, 1930, added M. Petrov, VOKS was in touch with seventy-seven countries, forty-six of which maintained diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. The number of foreigners visiting the Union was increasing yearly.

The Soviet Union continued to spread information about its activities and to encourage closer relations with foreign countries through VOKS. In a speech made in 1931 to a

visiting delegation of Czech students, the Vice President of VOKS, E. Lerner, referred to those foreign students who "have witnessed the great economic crisis and cultural and spiritual reaction in their own countries and cannot fail to see, beyond the barrier of calumny and slander, the gigantic work done in the USSR." He stated that the U.S.S.R. attached great importance to the visits of the "cultural and technical intelligentsia" of foreign countries and especially to the visits of students and young people "who still stand at the cross-roads of life and are about to choose their way." The young people were continually learning to shift their ideas of values and they might hold to reactionary forces or turn to new ideologies.¹⁰

The concluding paragraph of the address reads as follows:

One of the most important problems in this connection is an unbiased political information with regard to the USSR, which must serve not only to give the right idea about our country, but for closer relations, mutual assistance and an exchange of experience between the USSR and foreign countries. Our foreign societies would, however, be entirely wrong in limiting their work to disseminating neutral information which often hides a desire to efface our victories. These societies must organize their work so as to attract such representatives of the working intelligentsia who, in times of great trial, could stand in defense of the USSR. These societies must create a ring of trust, sympathy and friendship around the USSR, through which all plans of intervention will be unable to penetrate.¹¹

The re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States in November, 1933, laid the foundation for better cultural relations as well as political and economic relations between the two countries. The representatives of both countries stressed the need of cooperation for peace. When the first Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Alexander Troyanovsky, presented his credentials to President Roosevelt, he said:

It is my Government's and my own sincerest desire and intention to do everything possible for the realization of the wish expressed by you that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

There is among the people of my country a most natural feeling of sympathy, respect and admiration for your great country which they associate with high technical and scientific progress and which they regard as an immense creative force. The cooperation, therefore, of the one hundred and twenty-five million people of your country with the one hundred and seventy million of our own vast country, must of necessity be a boon to the general progress of humanity.¹²

After 1933, however, the situation in Europe became increasingly difficult because of Hitler's sudden rise to power and the growing aggressiveness of Germany, Italy, and Japan. The U.S.S.R., at the time of the purges within the Soviet Union during the thirties, began to curtail the cultural relations program abroad to some extent. The fact that so few foreigners had any knowledge of the Russian languages was also a contributing factor in the lack of understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and those of other countries.

In spite of the tense international situation, which made free and friendly exchanges between countries difficult, the interest of other nations in political and cultural developments within the U.S.S.R. continued to grow.

DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

THE outbreak of war put an end to many of the activities of VOKS and changed the character of others. While the Soviets centered their main efforts in winning the war,

they were never entirely cut off from the outside world. In a number of Soviet Embassies, press attachés and officers responsible for cultural relations carried on active programs. The *Information Bulletin* put out by the Embassies contained not only current news but much cultural material. A few travelers went to the U.S.S.R. In October, 1941, for example, *The Times* of London announced that a British trade union delegation in the U.S.S.R., headed by Sir Walter Citrine, had visited the Maslennikov factory in Kuibyshev.¹³

In 1944 the *Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy in Washington stated that books in a hundred languages, including forty languages of the U.S.S.R. that previously had no alphabet, had been published and distributed under the Soviet regime. Among these were the translations of such works as Ciro Alegría's *El Mundo es ancho y ajeno*, the novel receiving the prize award in Farrar and Rinehart's Latin American Novel Competition of 1941; *Los Comuneros* by Germán Arciniegas, Colombian man of letters and former Minister of Education; the poems and plays of García Lorca, Spanish poet-dramatist, executed by the Franco Government; and Steinbeck's *The Moon Is Down*.¹⁴ During the week preceding May Day, 1944, a festival in honor of Shakespeare was held at Erevan,* capital of the Armenian Republic, with performance of several Shakespearean plays, reading of papers by eminent scholars, and attendance by representatives of the British Ministry of Information;¹⁵ and during the same week, a Charlie Chaplin Festival at Moscow was characterized by "a serious approach" to the comedian's art and a showing of a number of his films.

Writing on Soviet music, Virgil Thomson, music critic of the *New York Herald Tribune*, said in that paper, October 1, 1944, "Our chief foreign musical relations just now are un-

* Two members of the staff of the American Embassy, however, who had planned to attend the Festival, were not granted the necessary permission by the Soviet authorities to proceed to Erevan.

questionably with the Soviet Union. . . . Symphonic music has aided, I am sure, the forging of a national unity within the Soviet aggregation, and its exclusive usage for that purpose has long been a policy of the Government." The music of Shostakovich, in a special broadcast during the siege of Leningrad, evoked response in editorials, articles, and poems throughout the Americas.¹⁶ The siege of Stalingrad, incidentally, has been the theme of more poems in the other American Republics than has any previous battle of any country since Ayacucho in 1824.

Throughout the war, in spite of transportation difficulties, VOKS continued the exchange of books and publications. On April 9, 1944, Tass, in a broadcast from Moscow, stated that VOKS was carrying on an extended book exchange between "various scientific and public organizations" of the Soviet Union which was strengthening cultural relations between the U.S.S.R. and the rest of the world. During the year the U.S.S.R. had received some 162,000 books and had sent 61,542 to other countries. Most of the Soviet books went to the United States, England, France, and to other European countries, although the United States had much difficulty in getting access to a considerable number of publications in which it was particularly interested. The most active exchange, nevertheless, was that carried on with the United States. Some forty-seven per cent of the books received by the U.S.S.R. came from the United States and they dealt largely with agriculture, medicine, and technology.¹⁷

Toward the end of the war, the U.S.S.R. began to intensify its programs of cultural relations with the Latin American countries. As diplomatic relations were established between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the South and Central American Republics (including Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Uru-

guay), a number of Soviet officials were sent to interpret Soviet life and thought to the Americas.

The cultural program of the U.S.S.R. which, in accordance with the customary VOKS procedure, had operated in many parts of the world chiefly through foreign societies of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R., began to take a somewhat different form in some of the Latin American countries. Instead of Soviet foreign cultural societies, institutes were established in which many of the Soviet cultural activities were centered. Intellectuals and business leaders in the foreign countries concerned, interested in cultural developments in the U.S.S.R., devoted their energies to the organization of the institutes. In some ways comparable to the French Institutes, these centers of higher education directed their activities toward the intellectuals of the countries concerned. The largest of these, the Russo-Mexican Cultural Institute, was inaugurated in May, 1944, with impressive ceremonies. The officers were influential citizens and among the staff members were Mexicans of high standing in their various fields. The work of the Institute as announced included a scientific department with eight sections: the Social and Juridical Sciences, the Pedagogical Sciences, Anthropology and History, Philosophy, the Natural Sciences, the Medical Sciences, and the Agricultural Sciences; and an art department which embraced the fields of Literature, the Theatre and the Dance, Photography and Films, the Plastic Arts, the Applied Arts, and Architecture and Urbanism.

The aims of the Institute, as stated by the President, Professor Chávez Orozco, were quoted as follows in *Excelsior*, May 17, 1944:

- a. Interchange of experience and scientific results obtained by professional men and institutes of both countries; interchange of works of art, publications and cultural films, etc.

b. Exhibitions of works of art or scientific works, Russian as well as Mexican.

c. Bilateral organization of courses and conferences on cultural themes.

d. Photo library and current periodical library for journalists, scientific men and artists.

e. Dissemination through the press of both countries of scientific articles, musical compositions and poetic works.

f. Publications of scientific works and artistic works of both countries, that may possess great cultural value.

g. Further personal contact among men of science, professional personnel and artists of the two countries.¹⁸

The Institute has a comprehensive library of recent works on the revolutionary movement in Soviet Russia.

Further information about the organization and financing of the Institute was given in *Tiempo* on October 13, 1944 in an article on aid to the U.S.S.R.:

Two hours after inaugurating the Russian Fair, Ambassador Constantine Oumansky presented himself in the offices of the Mexican-Russian Committee of Cultural Relations—*Comité Mexicano-Ruso de Relaciones Culturales*. There a group of intellectuals held a simple meeting in order to report upon the work carried out in the previous three months.

The report listed the economic sources of the Institute: Banco Industrial y Comercial, Sociedad Nacional de Productores de Alcohol, Productores de Azúcar, Aseguradora Mexicana, Banco de México, Cía. Mexicana Exportadora y Importadora, Nacional Reguladora y Distribuidora, Cédulas Hipotecarias, Banco del Ahorro Nacional, Nacional Financiera, Banco Nacional de Comercio Exterior, etc. The foregoing institutions during the year contributed \$27,550. Another source of income was the membership quotas, between \$50 and \$250 annually, which 150 members had set voluntarily.¹⁹

In June, 1944, in Mexico City, Luis Chávez Orozco, addressing Ambassador Oumansky at the opening of the Institute of Mexican-Russian Cultural Interchange (*Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Mexicano-Ruso*) summarized what Mexicans wanted to know about the people of the Soviet.

"We shall ask of you," he told Oumansky, "much news about many things that will help enrich the storehouse of our national culture. We are interested, for example, in knowing the methods by which the USSR has trained the legions of technicians who, by revolutionizing its industry, have enabled it to defend itself against Nazi aggression; we are interested also in learning as much as we can about the photo-technical methods that have made of the USSR the world's most gigantic laboratory, in which plants proper to every climate are being evolved; we want to know how the Soviets managed to find the way utterly to abolish illiteracy; and we are interested in learning the means thanks to which the flowering of the national literature of the USSR permits it to publish books in editions of millions of copies. We desire for you to give us an opportunity of hearing Soviet music, since we believe that at this moment geniuses are flourishing there whose advent, by virtue of their greatness, is very like that of Beethoven; we hope to capture the feeling of a literature that has been placed at the service of the fatherland and the service of the world. We want to learn in what form the Theatre and the Motion Picture and Journalism and the Radio sustain a high state of heroic tension in combatants and non-combatants during their country's struggle against the Nazi aggressor." ²⁰

The Soviet cultural program with Mexico—and on the pattern developed in Mexico, with Cuba and Colombia and the other American Republics through the embassies and the cultural centers soon after inaugurated at Habana and Bogotá—has been designed to meet the challenging interest thus expressed. The Soviet Embassy at Mexico City was the first to

be established in Hispanic America, and was in the beginning the hub of the cultural activities of the U.S.S.R. for twenty republics; though there are some indications that this hub is now (in the autumn of 1946) the Embassy at Habana. In January, 1945, two days after Ambassador Oumansky's death in an airplane accident, the Mexico City correspondent of the *New York Times* stated in that paper: "the intelligence, experience and diplomatic skill of Mr. Oumansky had materially improved Russia's position throughout the Western Hemisphere." The *Times* despatch made it abundantly clear to how great an extent the Ambassador had achieved these ends through the cultural approach.²¹

"The Soviet Embassy organized an excellent propaganda system," again according to the *Times* correspondent. "Once a week a neatly printed, small-size magazine reached the desk of newspaper editors, foreign correspondents, radio editors. . . . Its purpose was to acquaint the Mexican people with the Soviet viewpoint on the war and many aspects of Soviet life. It never contained political propaganda except by inference. . . . Another form of propaganda, in no way different from that promoted by the United States, consisted of Soviet newsreels. . . ." To these two basic elements, press and cinema material, should be added radio broadcasts, lectures, translation, sponsorship of reciprocal language classes: all the accustomed methods and materials of cultural programs, infused with energy and imagination.²²

In the Near East in January, 1944, a Soviet-Iranian Society was organized by a group of leaders including the Iranian Prime Minister, who became honorary president of the Society and sent his greetings to VOKS in Moscow.

With the liberation of Europe the U.S.S.R. began to re-establish cultural relations with the European peoples, especially those of the neighboring countries. Old contacts were renewed in some countries, while in others new Soviet-foreign societies were organized to further cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union.

The Finland-Soviet Union Society was one of the first to carry on an active program. It sponsored, among other activities, the Red Army Choir of about two hundred persons which arrived in Finland in January, 1945, for a series of concerts that were extremely well received.

Soon after the liberation of France, the Association France-U.R.S.S. issued a manifesto which emphasized the need for an accord among the Allies if peace was to prevail after victory. It was the duty of peoples, stated the manifesto, to understand one another, to esteem one another and to unite "in a common and sacred combat for human liberty." The sole aim of the Association France-U.R.S.S. was to maintain the traditional Franco-Soviet friendship. France-U.R.S.S. did not interfere in the internal policies of either country, "each of the two peoples, as masters of their destiny, being free to develop the institutions of their choice. . . ." the manifesto concluded, calling upon all French men and women to join the Association.²³

According to its statutes, approved by the first National Congress held in Paris in January, 1945, the purpose of the Association was to "foster mutual understanding between the two countries, their common activity in war and their friendly collaboration in peace." The work of the Association was to include the organization of conferences and lectures, the publication of brochures and bulletins, the showing of films. In a general way all media for spreading information and for developing cultural exchanges were to be used. All persons of French or Soviet nationality who were sympathetic or interested in the aims of the Association would be admitted as members without any distinction. The resources of the Association France-U.R.S.S. were to come from dues, to which would be added the profits coming from the subscriptions to the publications as well as from sales, from the showing of films, the organization of lectures, festivals, plays, etc. The *Revue France-U.R.S.S.* was to be the official organ of the Association.²⁴

Among the members of the National Committee which initiated the Association France-U.R.S.S. were M. Frédéric Joliot Curie, Member of the Institute and Professor of the Collège de France; Mme. Irène Curie, Professor at the Faculty of Sciences and Nobel Prize winner; M. Gaston Roussy, Rector of the University of Paris; M. Paul Langevin, Professor at the Collège de France; M. Félix Gouin, President of the Consultative Assembly; M. René Cassin, Vice President of the Conseil d'Etat; and Dr. L. Justin-Besançon, President of the French Red Cross.

In May, 1945, *Pravda* published a despatch from Bucharest which described the activities of a group of Soviet scientists and artists who had been participating in the Congress of the Rumanian Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. The Soviet group was headed by A. U. Karaganov, Vice President of the Soviet Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. It included Tsitsin, Soviet geneticist; Parin, the Vice Commissioner of Health; Egolin, Professor of literature; and a number of distinguished artists. The Congress expressed its thanks to VOKS for sending emissaries of culture and art with whose aid Rumania might dispel the falsehoods by which German Fascism had isolated the Rumanian people.²⁵

In June of the same year the Oslo radio reported a constitutional meeting of the Norwegian-Russian Society, at which many leaders in Norwegian cultural and industrial life were present. The stated aim of the Society was to strengthen friendship and to develop social, economic and cultural relations between Norway and the Soviet Union.²⁶

The Moscow radio (Soviet Home Service), also in June, 1945, announced that a meeting had recently been held in Budapest to organize a society for the promotion of cultural relations with the U.S.S.R. Among those attending, according to the broadcast, were the Hungarian Foreign Minister, the Minister of Reconstruction, the Chairman of the Inde-

pendent Party of Smallholders, the Leader of the Social Democratic Party, and the Secretary of the National Peasant Party. The well-known Hungarian scientist, Szentgyoergyi, was elected honorary president of the Society. A message was sent to Stalin stating that the Hungarian scientists, writers, and workers wanted to express their gratitude for the liberation of Hungary which had made possible free intellectual and cultural development in the country.²⁷

Among the societies which were organized in the spring and summer of 1945 were the Austrian Society for Cultural and Economic Relations with the U.S.S.R., the Bulgarian Soviet Society, the Greek-Soviet Society, and an association for the advancement of cultural relations between Italy and the Soviet Union.

THE POST-WAR PROGRAM

IMMEDIATELY after the close of hostilities in Europe VOKS showed renewed activity in welcoming to the Soviet Union, among many other eminent visitors, the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral; the Vice President of the London Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R.; Professor Jacques Nicol, Secretary General of the Cultural Center of the Association France-U.R.S.S.; and Edwin Smith, Director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

It is interesting to note that some of the smaller Soviet Republics, including the Armenian and the Ukrainian Republics, began at this time to develop their own organizations for furthering cultural relations with foreign countries. It should also be noted, however, that the cultural activities of the smaller republics, like all their other activities, were carried on within the ideological framework of the U.S.S.R., and that their contacts outside the Soviet Union were on an extremely limited basis.

The Jubilee Session in honor of the 220th anniversary of

the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. held in Moscow in June, 1945, brought together distinguished scientists from Europe, America, Australia, and Asia to discuss with their Soviet colleagues the problems of modern science. According to the *Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, 1,000 Soviet scientists and nearly 150 scientists from abroad filled the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow when President Komorov of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences delivered the opening address.²⁸

The VOKS *Bulletin* noted a reception given by M. Kementov, President of VOKS in honor of these visitors from other lands. Besides the foreign guests, those present included M. Miterev, Peoples Commissar of Health; M. Litvinov, Assistant Peoples Commissar of Foreign Affairs; Members of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; academicians; M. Karaganov, Vice President of VOKS; and Lydia Kislova, a member of the board of VOKS.

During his speech at the reception, M. Kementov said:

The friendship existing between the scientists of the Soviet Union and those of democratic countries is based on long standing traditions and has been firmly cemented during our great struggle against fascism. Hitlerism has been smashed, but the struggle against the remnants of reaction is still continuing and no scientist who holds progress dear can remain aloof from this struggle. The Anniversary Session of the Academy of Sciences, in which you have taken part, has borne important fruits. This, however, is only the first step in the development of constant, close scientific contact between our two countries. VOKS and its various sections will be glad to help to promote such contact among men of science.²⁹

An article in the September, 1945, issue of *Cultura Soviética*, the organ of the Mexican-Russian Cultural Institute, gives the following statement about the aims, organization and activities of VOKS:

Its ends are: to establish cultural relations with foreign nations; their scientific, artistic and cultural institutions in general and their distinguished representatives in science and art.

The Institute is divided into sections headed by personages justly renowned in the USSR, such as Alexis Tolstoy—recently deceased—who headed the Section of Literature; Ivan Moskvín, Artist of the People of the USSR, for the Section of the Theatre; Dr. Nicholas Burdenko, of the Academy of Sciences, for Medicine; Nicholas Myaskovsky, Sergius Prokofieff and Demetrius Shostakovich for Music; Alexander Gerasimov and Vera Mírina for Painting and Sculpture; Ivan Papanín, well known navigator, and Miguel Botvinnik, great maestro of chess, besides other personages for different scientific and artistic branches.

VOKS takes especial pains to familiarize all its members with what their colleagues of the same professions and specialization are doing abroad, and with the chief events occurring the world over in the fields of art and science. Thus, its Section of Music has performed numerous concerts of works of English and North American composers; the Section of Literature, for its part, makes available to its members the most relevant literary work of other nations, and the same thing is true as regards the Sections dedicated to scientific branches; for example, the Section of Sciences of Education has held special meetings to study educational theories of the principal countries.

Among the activities of this Institute innumerable exhibitions dealing with the cultural life of other countries have played a leading part; such as, for instance, the Exhibition of the Modern Art of Western Europe, an Exhibition of Chinese Art, exhibitions of British architecture, of the motion picture industry in the United States, and of Mexican graphic arts, thanks to a rich collection of lithographs and engravings sent by the Studio of Popular Graphics of this city.

During the war VOKS has placed on view special exhibitions relating to the United Nations, among which are worthy of special

mention *Great Britain and the War*, *The Air Power of the United States*, and others.

This Institute, the Institute of Mexican-Russian Cultural Interchange, maintains cordial relations with VOKS and, from these columns, cordially invites Mexican men of science and artists to send VOKS any questions regarding data or material in their special fields, either directly or through us, and we promise them in every instance prompt attention to the correspondence.³⁰

Among the more important publications which VOKS uses to make the life and thought of the Soviet Union better known and understood abroad are the *VOKS Chronicles*. Prepared by the corresponding sections of VOKS, they include the *Pedagogical Chronicle*, the *Medical Chronicle*, *Sciences in the USSR*, *Agriculture*, *Soviet Architecture*, the *Music Chronicle*, the *Chronicle of Soviet Fine Arts*, the *Chronicle of Soviet Chess*, and the *Chronicle of the Soviet Theatre*.

In the entire program of international relations with other countries the U.S.S.R. has relied strongly on the interchange of books and publications. "In spite of growing difficulties in communications and the unsafety of the sea lanes during the war, the exchange operations between the Library of Congress and the corresponding Soviet institutions were never interrupted," stated Sergius Yakobson in his bulletin, *The Library of Congress, Its Russian Program and Activities*, published in 1946 by the Library. "The Library of Congress is continually receiving shipments from the U.S.S.R. Most of them come from the Lenin State Library and the U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS). In exchange the Library of Congress has sent to a number of Soviet educational institutions—the Lenin State Library (Moscow), the Library of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. (Moscow), the Leningrad State Public Library, VOKS (Moscow),

the Department of Geography of Moscow University, the Institute of World Economics and Politics (Moscow), and the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries at Kiev—documentation of a very great variety. . . . The Library of Congress highly values its exchange arrangements with Soviet institutions. They make accessible to the American public thousands of volumes of Soviet literary, historical and scientific titles. Disappointing, however, is the recently diminishing number of items in the field of political and social sciences received as a result of these arrangements.”³¹

The Soviet program of translations both from Russian and into Russian is impressive. In Moscow in 1946 Boris Suchov, Head of the Foreign Section of OGIZ, state literary publishing house with which all other publishing houses are affiliated, was made director of a new department established to coordinate publication of foreign-language translations of Russian works.³² In June, 1946, Earl Browder announced that he was to be sole representative in the United States of Soviet publishing houses, “a channel of communication” between the two countries, facilitating “cultural exchanges.”³³

Another aspect of the U.S.S.R. program of cultural relations abroad which developed during the war and has been increasingly emphasized in the early post-war period, should be noted here. Among the international movements encouraged by the Soviets in recent years is Pan-Slavism, appealing to the various Slavic peoples of Europe, and to the Slavic emigrants throughout the world. The program of Pan-Slavism parallels in many ways the program of Pan-Germanism. The First All-Slav Meeting, held in Moscow on August 10–11, 1941, issued an impassioned appeal to “Brother Oppressed Slavs,” calling for a united fighting front of the Slavic peoples against Nazi Germany. The leadership at this meeting was taken by such writers as Alexei Tolstoy and Wanda Wasilewska, academicians including the Czech Zdenek

Nejedly (who became Czechoslovakian Minister of Education)³⁴ and the Serbian Bozhidar Maslarich, and several army men.³⁵ A permanent body was soon set up, known as the All-Slav Committee, composed of the same type of Slavic representatives then living in Moscow, and led by Lt. General Alexander Gundarov of the Red Army.³⁶

The Moscow organization has engaged in a vigorous campaign designed to strengthen the common bonds of Slavdom, through its well-edited monthly magazine, *Slavyane* ("The Slavs"), through an extensive program of radio broadcasts in a variety of languages, through elaborate and well-publicized meetings in Moscow,³⁷ and through frequent contact with Slavic groups throughout the world. Other active pan-Slavic organizations have been set up in the United States,³⁸ New Zealand,³⁹ Great Britain,⁴⁰ Yugoslavia,⁴¹ Bulgaria,⁴² and Czechoslovakia.⁴³ Each launched an active campaign for support of the Soviet Union and other Slavic lands, and for vigorous prosecution of the war. Each has undertaken to keep alive and stimulate Slav consciousness, and to foster support and friendship between the various sections of the race.

In many Slavic countries, especially in the Soviet Union, interests in Slavonic matters are being actively pursued. The Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R., for example, has established an Institute of Slavonic Studies which works in close contact with the All-Slav Committee in Moscow, and with scientific and scholarly workers in all Slavic lands.⁴⁴ Many publications have appeared and lectures have been given in Slavonic history, culture, and the contributions of Slavic groups to victory over the Axis and to world cooperation.⁴⁵ May 9th has been declared to be "Friendship Day of the Slav peoples."⁴⁶

Organizations in the Soviet Union working to strengthen ties with similar groups in other countries are the Soviet

Women's Anti-Fascist Committee, the Soviet Youth Anti-Fascist Committee, the Soviet Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, and the Soviet Scientists Anti-Fascist Committee.⁴⁷ Each has held well-publicized meetings, established contact with parallel societies in other countries, and issued pamphlets and other informational materials.

During the early post-war period, through VOKS and through the cultural officers in the Soviet Embassies, the work of the various Soviet-foreign societies was strongly encouraged. The formation of new societies was also furthered. This was especially true in the countries bordering the Soviet Union where there was special interest in making the scientific and cultural achievements of the U.S.S.R. widely publicized. Outstanding Soviet leaders in the sciences and the arts were sent to these countries, while exchanges of persons, including students, were soon initiated. For the scholastic year 1946-47, for example, the Soviet Union awarded fifty scholarships to Albanian students for study in the U.S.S.R. On October 24, 1946, *Izvestiya* announced the arrival of some three hundred graduate students from Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and other eastern European countries. It was stated that they would work for higher degrees in such centers as Moscow, Leningrad, and Karkov.⁴⁸ The *Moscow News* of October 23 reported the arrival of more than five hundred such students from eastern Europe, adding to the countries mentioned in *Izvestiya*, Albania, Hungary, and Rumania.⁴⁹

In the Western Hemisphere the Colombian-Russian Institute, the Chilean-Russian Institute, the Institute of Cuban-Soviet Cultural Relations and the Venezuelan-Soviet Institute, among others, have continued to further activities comparable to those carried on by the Mexican Soviet Institute. In the United States, among the associations devoted to the development of better relations with the U.S.S.R. are the

American-Russian Institute, the National Council of American Soviet Friendship and the American Soviet Medical Association.

No program of exchange of students between the U.S.S.R. and the American Republics had been noted in the autumn of 1946. There have been, however, a few exchanges of specialists and leaders in various fields. For example, the Moscow press in July, 1946, reported the departure for Canada of a delegation from the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries which had been invited to attend the Ukrainian Festival in Edmonton, Canada. Dr. Selman Waksman of Rutgers University, discoverer of the new "wonder drug" streptomycin, who was invited to the Soviet Union by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., lectured on the study of antibiotics in Leningrad and other cities during the summer.⁵⁰ The visit in September to the Soviet Union of the American Chess Team to play in the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. chess match aroused much attention. The U.S.S.R. *Information Bulletin*, in an editorial entitled "Friendly Rivalry," stated: "The friendly rivalry between the two teams was of more than professional interest to the Soviet people. The American chess players were welcomed as honored guests from the United States, and their sojourn could not help but promote closer friendship between the peoples of the two great countries."⁵¹

The increasing interest of the U.S.S.R. in relations with other countries is also indicated in the following excerpt from the "Notes on Soviet Life" of the *Information Bulletin*, Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Washington, for May 18, 1946:

The Georgian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries has been inaugurated in Tbilisi. Nikolai Mikava, a prominent man of letters, was elected its president.

Outstanding men of science, technology, literature, arts and sports in Georgia are participating in the Society's work.

A publishing house is being set up under the Society's auspices to publish books on the Georgian theater, literature and architecture, biographies of outstanding Georgian public leaders, reference books, guides, picture albums and other materials facilitating the strengthening of cultural ties between Georgia and other countries.⁵²

Recent official Russian statements, both formal and informal, indicate that the Soviet Union places real importance on effective cultural relationships. When Ambassador Nikoli Novikov presented his credentials to President Truman, he said, ". . . I shall make every effort to promote the development and strengthening of political, economic, and cultural relations between our countries."⁵³ The Russian Embassy staff at Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, in June, 1946, was reported as totaling about six hundred, "including military, scientific, and cultural missions";⁵⁴ and foreign diplomatic sources were said to agree that Russia was following a program of "earning Afghanistan goodwill through cultural and social relations." On July 12, 1946, Assistant Secretary of State William Benton made public a letter received from three Russian writers who had been traveling in the United States—Konstantin Simonov, Major General M. R. Galaktionov, and Ilya Ehrenburg—which expressed the opinion that "mutual travels of representatives of culture will assist the cooperation and the friendship between our countries."⁵⁵ About the same time, *Cultura Soviética*, official publication of the Mexican-Russian Cultural Institute, published an account of an address by Vladimir Kemenov, President of VOKS, expressing the desire for "close and fruitful cultural relations between Mexico and the Soviet Union."⁵⁶ In Prime Minister Stalin's reply of September 24, 1946, to Britain's questions by the correspondent of the *London Sunday Times*, he said, "I really believe in the possibility of friendly relations between the

Soviet Union and Great Britain. Establishment of such relations would be appreciably helped by strengthening political, trade, and cultural relations between these countries." Again, in commenting on the Premier's statement, Milhail Mikhailov declared over the Moscow radio on September 26, 1946, that "friendly political, trade, and cultural relations should bring the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain closer together."⁵⁷

Great Britain: National Interpretation

GREAT BRITAIN was slow to develop a program of cultural relations with other countries. After the First World War, while Germany, France, and Italy rapidly increased their programs of cultural propaganda abroad, Great Britain continued to remain aloof, although she had carried on an outstanding propaganda program during the war. The Ministry of Information concerned with publicity in neutral and Allied countries, which was established by the British Government in the last years of the war, together with the Department for Enemy Propaganda, developed a most successful program.¹ In spite of the importance of this work, it was abolished at the close of hostilities. A suggestion made by Lord Northcliffe and others that a propaganda program for peacetime be developed was rejected by Lloyd George, and for many years Great Britain had no such government program abroad.²

Meantime, British representatives and members of British trade missions in many parts of the world became increasingly aware of the harm that was being done to British interests abroad by the propaganda activities of certain Great Powers, and repeatedly made recommendations that the British Government take steps to counteract these activities. After a long and careful consideration of the problem, plans were laid for a British program, which stressed cul-

tural relations rather than cultural propaganda. It was not until November, 1934, however, that, on the advice of the Foreign Office, the British Council for Relations with Other Countries was established to carry on a program of cultural expansion or "national interpretation" abroad. The Council began in a small way under the able leadership of Lord Tyrrell, former Ambassador to Paris, and with a carefully selected staff.

On March 20, 1935, an announcement of the formation of the Council was made in *The Times* of London. It began as follows:

A new body, the British Council for Relations with Other Countries, is being established to promote abroad a wider knowledge of the English language, literature, art, music, science, educational institutions and other aspects of our national life, and thereby to encourage a better appreciation of Great Britain and to maintain closer relations between this and other countries.

His Majesty's Ambassadors and Ministers abroad and special trade missions to various parts of the world have repeatedly recommended that some central body should be set up to undertake this task on a wider scale than hitherto and to encourage and coordinate the activities of existing societies.

To carry out this work the Council, under the leadership of Lord Tyrrell, formerly Ambassador to Paris, and the vice-chairmanship of Sir Arthur Balfour, formerly President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, has been provisionally established to include:

Sir Alan Anderson (Orient Line), Sir Edwin Diller (Principal of London University), Mr. William Graham (Chairman of London Illustrated Newspapers, Limited), Mr. John Masefield (Poet Laureate), Mr. J. W. Ramsbottom (Director of the City of London College), Sir Eugene Ramsden, M.P. (Chairman of the Trade and Industry Committee of the House of Commons), Mr. E. Rootes (Vice-President of the Society of Motor Manu-

facturers and Traders) and M. H. J. U Woolcock (Chairman of the Overseas Committee, Federation of British Industries).³

In addition, continued the statement in *The Times*, the Council included members nominated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and for the Dominions, by the Presidents of the Board of Trade and of the Board of Education, and by the Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade. The Association of British Chambers of Commerce and the Federation of British Industries, as well as other professional cultural organizations, had announced their intention of affording full support to the work of the Council.

Many countries which attached importance to their own language, traditions, and culture, and to the good political and commercial relations which followed from a proper appreciation of these by other countries, had been actively engaged in work of this character for many years past.

The Government had expressed its willingness to propose to Parliament the grant of £6,000 from public funds for the financial year 1935-36 as a contribution toward the much larger sum which would be required in order to perform effectively a task of urgent national importance.⁴

Following the above statement, a correspondent of *The Times* added some enlightening comments. The importance of the work of the strong council which Lord Tyrrell had established was greatly increased by the knowledge that the British Government was giving both its moral and material support and cooperation, the correspondent said, and continued:

Not even our most severe isolationist can wish to deprive us of social and commercial intercourse with other countries. Elementary common sense dictates that such intercourse should be made as friendly and helpful as possible

No country to-day can expect to be understood by others if it remains aloof and passive. Foreign policy alone, however wisely

conceived, cannot remove misunderstandings unless it can work on a background of knowledge. Some form of national publicity, if wisely directed, with the Government, education and industry in a working partnership, can do much to provide a fruitful ground of policy.⁵

On March 23, a leading article in *The Times* on the British Council suggested that it was a happy thought to give the title of British Council for Relations with Other Countries to the new body, for culture was a word that came "clumsily and shyly off the Englishman's tongue." Foreign Governments, the editorial continued, had long ago understood "the value of such private diplomacy" and had given it support. Then, if ever, when political and economic difficulties encouraged an isolationist mentality, was the moment to follow their lead.⁶

Lord Tyrrell, in a letter to the editor of *The Times*, March 26, under the heading, "Promotion of the British Outlook," further explained the work of the Council.

I have accepted the chairmanship of the new council because my experience both in the Foreign Office and abroad has shown me how great is the need of some central organization in London, not only to do a little thinking on the subject themselves, but to call public attention to it, so that we may build up a body of opinion here which will see that some really constructive work is achieved that will present this country in its true light abroad. The subject is, of course, immense, and the British Council can only attempt to make a beginning on certain definite lines. We have felt that the teaching of English should be in the forefront of our programme, and we have, therefore, considered a number of ways in which English studies might be encouraged. But we are fully alive to the fact that the learning of our language is merely opening the door to something much wider, namely, to an appreciation of that special British contribution to the arts and sciences, to education, and to those institutions through which our

country is ordered and administered. I do not hesitate to say that with a large part of the world in its present bewildered and excited state there was never a greater opportunity and need for us to present our own outlook on life to other countries, so that it may be thrown into the common pool as a definite contribution to whatever ideas the present and coming generations are to bring forth.⁷

A meeting of the British Council for Relations with Other Countries was held at St. James Palace on July 3, 1935. The Prince of Wales, a patron of the Council, made an appeal for the generous support of individuals and firms, saying that every penny given for the work would be well spent.

As reviewed in *The Times* for July 4, 1935, the following points were brought out in the meeting:

Lord Tyrrell, submitting a report of the activities of the Council during the first seven months of its existence, said that they had been encouraged by "a grant from the Treasury of £6000, by the active collaboration of five government departments besides the Foreign Office, and by donations from Lord Wakefield, Sir Herbert Grotrian, and Mr. William Graham, while one or two large industrial firms and publishers had given practical effect to this sympathy in the form of contributions and the Book and Music Publishers Associations had given valuable support." With the small funds available, the Council had been able to do little more than lay the foundations for the work of the future. Lord Tyrrell mentioned a few of the activities which the Council had carried on. A party of Swedish landowners and gardening experts had been brought to Great Britain to study gardening. Small grants had been made for existing libraries in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland and a few scholarships and fellowships awarded. The Council was especially interested in encouraging the flow of students from overseas for general and technical education.

The Prince of Wales said that he was in warm sympathy with the aims which the Council hoped to achieve. Other countries appreciated the importance of making themselves better known to the world, he said, and continued: "Let us, therefore, not be backward in undertaking a task of supreme importance to this country—not merely in a narrow nationalist spirit, but in the general interest of international understanding and sympathy."⁸

Although it had only relatively small funds at its disposal, the work of the Council began to develop rapidly. Lord Tyrrell became President of the Council and Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., was made Chairman in 1936.⁹

Lord Eustace Percy, however, retired from the chairmanship in July, 1937, to undertake other duties, at which time he submitted a report on the work of the Council for the period from April 1, 1936 to July 15, 1937. According to this report, the Council "seeks to discharge a whole range of functions which in other countries are carried out partly by direct Government action and partly by semi-official organizations with large Government subventions."

The aims and objects of the British Council were stated as follows in the report:

To make the life and thought of the British people more widely known abroad; and to promote a mutual interchange of knowledge and ideas with other peoples. To encourage the study and use of the English language, both in foreign countries and in the Crown Colonies and Dependencies; to assist overseas schools in equipping themselves for this purpose; and to enable students from overseas to undertake courses of education or industrial training in the United Kingdom. To bring other peoples into closer touch with British ideals and practice in education, industry and government; and to make available to them the benefits of current British contributions to the sciences and technology; and to afford them opportunities of appreciating British literature, fine arts, drama and music. To cooperate with the self-

governing Dominions in strengthening the common cultural traditions of the British Commonwealth.¹⁰

There had been an expansion of the Council's income which was first increased from £15,000 to £30,000 and then to a total grant-in-aid of £60,000 for 1937-1938. An important step was taken when, in July, 1936, the first general meeting of the Council resolved to submit a petition to the Privy Council for the grant of a Royal Charter.

From the beginning one of the main activities of the Council had been the encouragement of British Institutes and Foreign British Societies. It aided the two well-known British Institutes at Paris and Florence, as well as a number of societies in Europe and in Latin America, such as the well-established Cultural Societies at Buenos Aires and Montevideo. It had begun to organize new enterprises, notably the Anglo-Egyptian Union at Cairo, the Cultural Societies at Lima, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Santiago, and the Sino-British Cultural Association at Nanking.

The Council either founded or assisted in maintaining certain professorships or lectureships at foreign universities. In some cases this included the management of Institutes connected with the universities, such as the Institute at the University of Coimbra.

Most of the grants for British schools abroad were given in the eastern Mediterranean countries.

In dealing with books and periodicals the Council's aim was: (a) to build up general libraries of English books; (b) to supply the lack of British scientific works in specialist libraries; (c) to increase the circulation of British periodicals; and (d) to supply bibliographical information and encourage book reviews in the foreign press.

Following Lord Eustace Percy, Lord Lloyd of Dolobran became the third Chairman of the Council in July, 1937.

As tensions grew in Europe and the propaganda programs of certain of the foreign powers became more violently

anti-British, the British Parliament began to take an increasing interest in the problem of British publicity abroad. Early in February, 1938, Mr. Emrys-Evans asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the importance of British publicity abroad, the Government would give this matter urgent consideration. The Prime Minister (Mr. Chamberlain answered:

For some time past H. M. Government have been impressed with the desirability of ensuring that the fullest and most effective use is made of the various efforts now being conducted to spread a better understanding of this country and of the British people abroad. It has now been decided to set up a coordinating committee whose function it will be to prevent overlapping and, by exchange of information among the bodies engaged in various forms of publicity abroad, to coordinate their programs and activities. His Majesty's Government have appointed Sir Robert Vansittart, Chief Diplomatic Adviser, to be Chairman of this committee and they propose to invite representatives of other bodies engaged on work of this character, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation,* the British Council and the Travel Association ** to serve on the committee.¹¹

* The British Broadcasting Corporation was potentially the most important propaganda medium the British had at their disposal, but under the British system direct and intentional propaganda was excluded from its program except under very limited conditions. Great Britain was also bound by the International Convention on the use of broadcasting in time of peace, and she made every effort to conform to its requirements. The totalitarian states were not bound by the Convention and could broadcast as they pleased. Up to the time of the war the only service which might be termed a counter-propaganda service was the news service broadcast in foreign languages (Arabic, English, and Portuguese) set up in 1938, to counteract broadcasts given in English from some of the foreign stations of "news of a tendentious or biased character."

** Another agency for British publicity abroad was the Travel and Industrial Development Association of the Department of Overseas Trade. The purpose of the Association was to encourage foreigners to come to Great Britain and to assist in the development of the United Kingdom, including Scotland and Ireland. In 1939 its grant was raised to £15,000. Its work included the distribution of booklets, participation in broadcasting, films, and "every known method of publicity," Mr. Gross, Secretary, Board of Trade, told the House in February, 1939.

On February 16, 1938, there was a long debate in the House of Commons on the supply of British news abroad, during which the following motion was passed:

That, having regard to the increasing activity of certain foreign governments in the field of propaganda, political and cultural, by means of the press, broadcasting, and films, this House being of the opinion that the evil effects of state propaganda of a tendentious or misleading character can best be countered, not by retaliation, but by the widespread dissemination of straightforward information and news based upon an enlightened and honest public policy, urges the Government to give the full weight of its moral and financial support to schemes to further the wider and more effective presentation of British news, views, and culture abroad.¹²

Mr. Lees-Jones, who made the original motion, began the discussion with the statement:

Up to 1914, we in this country were somewhat indifferent to the opinions of other nations and peoples, with the result that we took few steps to advertise ourselves. Pride of race was partly responsible. Also we thought that our position in the world was quite sufficient to make our actions and views speak for themselves. We have been inclined to assume that others would understand our motives, and, to some extent, I think we were justified, in that at that time we were a democratic country, in the midst of democratic countries. Films and wireless were in their infancy, and newspapers, which were the principal media of discussion of world news, were untrammelled by government control. Today things are different. In some countries parliamentary government exists in name only. Their institutions have no power of government, and are subjugated to the will of a dictator. The democratic form of government has gone, and with it, that freedom of exchange of views which resulted in a greater knowledge of world affairs and culture as a means of engendering knowledge and

understanding of each other's views, actions, motives and attainments.¹³

In earlier days, continued Mr. Lees-Jones, when there was freedom of the press, there was little distortion of authentic news, but an entirely erroneous picture of the British people was being given through the subsidized and controlled news services of certain ministers of propaganda. He added:

What media have we to combat this propaganda, and how can they best be utilized? There are four media at the moment—first, the film; second, methods of cultural propaganda; third, wireless; and, fourth, newspapers and printed journals.¹⁴

Mr. Harold Nicholson, supporting the motion of Mr. Lees-Jones said that the question of propaganda was a new, multiple, and highly dangerous instrument in international policy. It was an instrument which was uncongenial to the British. He did not want to be self-righteous, but propaganda was often based on avoidance of the truth and in general British people objected to untruths. In a national emergency the British could be as untruthful as, or more untruthful than, anybody else. During the World War they had lied damnably. He thought that such propaganda had done a lot of harm and he would not like to see such propaganda again. Anyone reading *Mein Kampf* would find that the impression made by British propaganda upon Hitler was damaging, for the German dictator admired it greatly. A number of books were being published in the United States on the subject of the effects and methods of British propaganda in 1917–1918. That was unfortunate, but that was in wartime. In peacetime the ordinary Englishman did not like telling lies.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Earl Winter-ton), speaking for the Government, stated that neither the Government, the House nor the country could afford to

ignore the use of publicity and propaganda in which the majority of foreign Governments engaged, sometimes quite legitimately but sometimes decidedly otherwise, where the results were detrimental to British interests. When statements were made by official or semi-official sources abroad which were inaccurate as regarded British policy, intentions, the state of the country, or such parts of the Empire as were directly governed from Great Britain, they must take steps to contradict them. They must, however, bear in mind the very proper limitations imposed by their democratic constitution which prevented anything like a censorship of news, and also the traditional British reputation for fairness and moderation in statement which had always been a bulwark of British prestige abroad.

After discussing the use of broadcasting in counter-propaganda against statements which were inimical to British interests, and after deciding to use foreign-language broadcasts, in which a beginning had already been made, Earl Winterton said:

Now I come to a matter which will have the sympathy of the whole House, and that is the work which is being done by the British Council to promote cultural and educational activities in foreign countries. The Council consists of official and unofficial members, and the Leaders of both Oppositions are members of it. It has the full backing of His Majesty's Government, who are satisfied that it is the right way of handling these matters, and that the Council is doing admirable work within the limits of its budget. It receives a sum from the Treasury and it has secured also some financial and other assistance from private and commercial sources. . . .

In the work of the British Council is to be found, in my judgment, a form of propaganda or publicity to which no one can take exception. . . . I should like to make an appeal, standing in this box, for all possible support of the British Council.¹⁵

While the war clouds grew darker over Europe, the British Council increased its activities but made no important changes in their general direction.

DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

AT THE outbreak of the Second World War the projected Ministry of Information came into being. As the Ministry of Information and the British Council were both engaged in "presenting the British case abroad," there soon arose the problem of differentiating the activities of the two organizations. The Committee on National Expenditure (1940), however, stated that there was a fundamental distinction between the Ministry of Information and the British Council. The Ministry of Information was set up to carry on a program of propaganda abroad, while the British Council was restricted to the cultural sphere and did not undertake direct propaganda. The Committee went on to state that whereas the Ministry of Information was a wartime organization, whose function was to pass with the ending of the war, the British Council was "a permanent institution charged with the duty of spreading British ideals of life equally in times of peace as in war."¹⁸

During the first year of the war the British Council, continuing to receive favorable consideration in Parliament, was able to continue its work and to adapt it to war needs.

In 1940 the Council was recognized as a permanent element in national affairs and was given a grant of a charter of incorporation. By virtue of this Royal Charter, the report of the British Council (1940-41) explained, "the Council became a body corporate with powers, amongst other powers, to accept, hold, and dispose of money in furtherance of its objects, including sums voted by Parliament to that end. It was authorized to accept any trusts in furtherance of those objects and was given licence, subject to

the usual limitations, to acquire real property." The report continued:

The powers of the Council are vested in its Executive Committee, including the power to appoint a Chairman and Secretary-General, whose names, however, must previously have been approved by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Chairman, who is the administrative head of the Council, holds office for such period as the Secretary of State approves.

The following members of the Government have the right each to nominate a member of the Executive Committee:

The Lord President of the Council.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs,
the Colonies and Scotland.

The Presidents of the Board of Trade and
of the Board of Education.

The Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade.

Members of the Council, as distinct from members of the Executive Committee, are elected from time to time by the Committee. Membership of the Council, which imposes no obligation, is confined to persons of distinction in those aspects of the national life with which the Council finds itself concerned. Members become entitled to attend an annual general meeting for the purpose of receiving a report of the affairs of the Council. They are entitled also to attend such other general meetings as are provided for by the By-Laws of the Council.¹⁷

To assist the Executive Committee, there was a system of advisory committees which placed at the Council's disposal a body of expert opinion. Although the Council received some voluntary donations and subscriptions, almost all of its funds were derived from a grant voted by Parliament and carried on the Foreign Office vote. "It will be clear therefore," continued the report, "that the Council's work must

be carried on under the supervision of the Foreign Office."

The basic aim of the Council was clearly stated: "Under the terms of the Royal Charter, the Council exists for the purpose of promoting a wider knowledge of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the English language abroad, and developing closer cultural relations between the United Kingdom and other countries, for the purpose of benefiting the British Commonwealth of Nations."¹⁸

The outbreak of the war caused the British Council to give up some of its activities and to change the character of others. In the report of the British Council, 1940-1941, the following statements about the pre-war work of the Council were included:

The annihilation of distance in the modern world, the other peaceful and war-like inventions of the age, have brought the different races and civilizations of the world rapidly and violently together.

The constant interchange of knowledge, ideas, and discoveries was always the life of Europe in its wiser days. It is rightly now no less the life of the world. Neighbourliness, as it may be called, has spread in widening circles since the days when a man in the next county was a foreigner, until our neighbours are in the Americas and the China Seas, no less than in Western Europe. To foster that interchange in the interests of peaceful and happy international relations is rightly to be regarded as a function of the prudent state. And that is the place of the British Council in time of peace.

Such national interpretation, a happier phrase than cultural propaganda, implies the employment by the state, to the national advantage, of the whole cultural resources of the nation. The term 'cultural resources' may be deemed to include all achievements of the nation past and present in the spheres of intellect, art, science, government, education, and invention, and that in-

tangible but powerful force, the national personality, as manifested in a country's past history and present way of life.¹⁹

The Council made rapid progress in developing its program under the chairmanship of Lord Lloyd. His death in February, 1941, was a great loss, for as a leader he had inspired confidence and he had given "energy and inspiration" to its work. It was not surprising that questions should soon be raised about the activities of the Council and about its future leadership.

In the debate on Supply, Diplomatic Services, in the House of Commons on February 18, 1941, when a supplementary sum of £200,000 was asked for the Council, a more critical approach was made and its future seriously considered. The possibility of merging the British Council with the Ministry of Information was discussed but such action was considered inadvisable.²⁰

Miss Rathbone, representing the Combined English Universities, suggested that, while the emphasis of the Council's work seemed to be on spreading British culture in the more humanistic sense through British literature, art, music, and ideas, the people whom she had met in the Balkan states wanted facts which showed what democracy was, how it had grown, and what it aimed to do for the world.

Mr. Creech Jones thought that the work of the Council should be more widely based and asked if any of the Council's money would be available for representatives of British colonial peoples to come to Great Britain and see something of the working of British institutions, and if facilities would be provided for representatives of the British Trade Union or cooperative movements to go to other countries and to the British colonies in order that a more representative picture of British life, cultural institutions, social movements, and economic organizations and development should be presented to them.

Mr. Butler, speaking for the Foreign Office, said:

I must make it perfectly clear that the British Council is an all-party body; it does not exist for any sort of political reason, nor has it any political bias whatsoever. It includes representatives of all parties, and you have only to read the list of members of the Executive Council to see from what wide ranges of interest representatives are drawn. I think it is essential to make it quite clear that the picture of Britain which the British Council seeks to present abroad is a real and genuine picture of Britain as a whole. . . . In fact, the object of the Council and of its late chairman was to make the name of Britain known and respected abroad, and the name of Britain has never been one which could be interpreted in a narrow or shallow way.²¹

Chief Methods of the Council

In the comprehensive report of the work of the British Council for the financial year 1940-41 the chief methods of the Council were described as follows:

1. The formation of new or the encouragement of existing British cultural centres abroad. These are the British Institutes.
2. The encouragement of new or existing Anglophil Societies abroad. These Societies, varying greatly in size, are combinations of persons interested in Great Britain. They spring from the soil of the country in which they are situated and are controlled by, and the property of, the citizens of that country.
3. The encouragement, and if need be the formation, of British schools abroad.
4. The encouragement of English studies in foreign schools and universities.
5. The encouragement throughout these institutions and elsewhere of the knowledge of the English language.
6. To bring students, whether undergraduate or post-graduate, from countries over-seas to undertake courses of education, study, or industrial training in the United Kingdom.

7. To spread among the widest public abroad a knowledge of those things which it is the Council's business to make known, through the medium of a Press service, films, the distribution of literature, exhibitions, lectures, concerts, and theatrical performances.²²

Books and Periodicals

According to the report, the functional work of the Council was becoming a very important part of its activities. The books and periodicals program had been greatly expanded, for no part of the Council's work could go far without books, and one of the Council's main tasks had been to build up general libraries of English books in the British Institutes and Anglophil Societies and in foreign universities and other institutions. Scientific and technical works were also presented to specialist libraries abroad. The Council had founded or added to the libraries of English books in at least five hundred institutions. It was not customary for the Council to give books dealing directly with political propaganda or with the war.

An important new development was a Book Export Scheme to encourage the sale of British books of some cultural value in foreign book shops. The plan was worked out with the cooperation of the Treasury, the Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade, the Publishers Association and the National Book Council. British diplomatic missions abroad were asked to submit the names of a certain number of reputable booksellers. To these foreign booksellers a monthly book list comprising a selection of British books published in Great Britain during that month was sent. The foreign bookseller paid the freight, but if he could not sell the books within six months he could hand them over to the local representative of the British Council, who would then acquire them from the publisher and use them as he thought advisable.

In the program of the British Council there was a fairly large-scale distribution of books and newspapers to the Institutes and Anglophil Societies. A large variety of periodicals of a popular, literary, technical, or learned kind were also distributed to other institutions in foreign countries and in the British colonies. British periodicals and periodicals in the languages of the Allied countries were distributed to Allied and national centers in Great Britain. At the end of the year the total number of subscriptions was 35,347.

Britain Today, a small fortnightly publication, the first issue of which appeared in March, 1939, discontinued its French, German, and Italian editions during the year 1940–41 but the circulation of the English, Portuguese, and Spanish editions increased to approximately 68,000.²³

Broadcasting

As far as broadcasting was concerned, most of the activities carried on before the war by a joint committee on broadcasting, which included representatives of the Council, the B.B.C. and other official bodies, had ceased to be the concern of the Council since the outbreak of war.²⁴

Exhibitions—Fine Arts

The Council was responsible for all British fine art exhibitions, either official or semi-official, shown abroad. The Council had acquired a collection of over 250 modern British prints, water-colours, and drawings through the generosity of the late Lord Wakefield.²⁵

Films

The greater part of the Council's film program had included:

1. The production of a news-reel, *British News*, compiled

from the best of the material contained in the weekly news-reels made by the five British news-reel companies.

2. The commission of documentary films on carefully chosen subjects dealing with British life and achievements. These were distributed in the public cinemas of over eighty different countries and were seen by a vast number of audiences.

Adding to the library of 84 sound films, ten new films had recently been completed, including:

Architects of England—The past and present of English architecture.

City Bound—London's transport system.

Learning to Live—English children at school.

Other films were still in production. The Council was also planning to produce a number of films of a strictly educational kind, such as *Empire Round the Atlantic*, a historic-geographic film. Foreign commentaries were added to most new films in Afrikaans, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Spanish.

3. The acquisition of the foreign rights of suitable documentary films already made commercially in Great Britain.

4. The provision where necessary of commentaries or subtitles in foreign languages.

5. The commission or acquisition of films intended for educational purposes abroad, or describing technical or scientific achievements which it is desired to make known abroad.

6. The distribution of the films made or acquired through the proper trade channels for commercial distribution in cinemas abroad, or through other channels for noncommercial exhibition by educational authorities or local representatives of the British Government.

7. The equipment of Institutes, Anglophil Societies or other suitable institutions with sound-projectors and libraries of films.²⁶

Lectures

When the war activities became more intensified, many lecture engagements had to be cancelled. However, in January, 1941, Sir James Purves-Stewart lectured in Lisbon and then in Madrid. A delegation from the University of Oxford, including Dr. J. R. H. Weaver, President of Trinity College, Mr. W. J. Entwistle, Professor of Spanish Studies, and Mr. T. F. Higham, Public Orator, sent to confer the degree of Doctor of Civil Law on the President of Portugal, lectured in Portugal.

Music and the Theatre

In the field of music, the Council's aim was to bring British music past and present to the knowledge of foreign musicians and audiences and to encourage its performance by professional and amateur musicians. When the war made it difficult to continue the visits abroad of British artists, orchestras, or choirs, the Council put increased emphasis on sending scores of British music, song-books, and phonograph records to most of the cultural centers in which it is interested.

While the Council valued highly the presentation by British companies of plays, opera, and ballet, such activities were sharply curtailed by the war.²⁷

The Press and Receptions Division

The Press and Receptions Division of the Council maintained a channel of communications between the British press and the press of other countries. It also was of assistance to the foreign journalists, helping them to obtain introductions and information on special subjects. It was responsible for all receptions given by the Council and for the entertainment and information of the editors of newspapers,

doctors, educators, and other foreign visitors. It kept in touch with the foreign press associations.

The Council did not supply what is sometimes called "hot news." As the report states, "it is concerned to supply material [based on but not consisting of current news] which deals with the life of Great Britain and British achievement in every field. Such background material is inevitably related to and coloured by the war, but it is recognized abroad as being free from the imputation of political propaganda and is often the more welcome for that reason."

The information service of the Council supplied a daily edition of *London Letters* which in 1941 was despatched to 127 centers in 78 foreign countries and British colonies. Feature articles were despatched regularly. The Council also had a large library of photographs.²⁸

Science, Engineering, and Medicine

The Council had always been interested in making the contributions of British science, engineering, and medicine better known to other peoples. A committee of distinguished scientists had recently been appointed to consider what achievements and activities of British science, medicine, and engineering should be given publicity abroad. A news letter called *Monthly Science News* was published by the Council.

The Council also provided lantern slides, epidiascopes, radiographs, photographic and other small exhibitions, teaching materials, photographs for school purposes, flags, posters, prizes, maps, and games for use by schools, Anglo-phil Societies, and Institutes.²⁹

1941-1942

ON THE basis of the carefully planned and comprehensive program described in the above paragraphs, a solid foundation was laid for the future work of the Council.

From 1940 on, recognized as a permanent organization important to the national life of Great Britain, the Council was able to expand rapidly. Its peculiar organization and its quasi-official character made it possible for the Council not only to carry on its regular program, but to adapt itself to the needs of wartime.

The appointment of the fourth Chairman of the British Council, Sir Malcolm Robertson, was announced in June, 1941. The new Chairman had been instrumental in forming the first of the South American cultural societies when he was British Ambassador at Buenos Aires, and had for a long time been interested in the work of the Council.³⁰

The British Council, from the beginning, was aware of the great importance of preparing materials on British life and thought for use abroad. Enlisting the services of British experts in many fields, the Council had made increasingly available to the peoples of other countries very diverse materials which might help them in their understanding of the British people. Among these materials was the series of brochures on "British Life and Thought" which included such subjects as: *The British Commonwealth* by A. Berridale Keith; *The British System of Government* by W. A. Robson; *British Justice* by Sir Maurice Amos; *British Trade Unions* by John Price. Another series, "Science in Britain," included: *British Agricultural Research, Rothamsted*, by Sir John Russell. Some of these books were handsomely illustrated. Good translations of many of them into Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish, Czech, and other languages facilitated their use.³¹

Much emphasis was also given to the preparation of documentary films, which included such titles as *Royal Road*, a record of the public activities and home life of their Majesties; *Pacific* (colour), a diagrammatic film of the development of the Empire round the Pacific Ocean; and *Surgery in Chest Disease*, a medical film,

1942-1944

IN SPITE of the many demands made in Great Britain by the war, the work of the British Council was strongly supported during this period. Each year showed large increases in the number of students taking the English courses of the Council as well as in the number of Institutes. In general all activities were greatly expanded. In Turkey, for example, the number of pupils studying English rose from 2,899 in December, 1941, to 4,510 in March, 1943. British Institutes were opened in Addis Ababa and in Mexico in 1943. Work was begun with the Soviet Union and close relations with Sweden were re-established.³²

In a speech in the House of Commons on July 7, 1942, Sir Malcolm Robertson stressed the importance of this work. He said: "We have sent abroad lecturers of eminence on many subjects and we have founded British and Anglophil institutes all over the world—that is to say, in peace time. We have been informed by the Greek and Yugoslav Governments that it was in large measure due to the work of the British Council in their country that they decided that the British point of view was one that was worth something in civilization and the advancement of morality in the world, and they decided to put up the fight that they did so gallantly put up against Italy and Germany. Those were definite statements that were made us by the statesmen of those two countries. We have these institutes in the Middle East, we have them in Central America and South America, in Spain, Portugal and Sweden. . . . The whole point of our work, as I have said, is to make peoples understand each other."³³

The report on the Council's work for the year ending March 31, 1944, told of the great progress made during the first ten years of the Council's existence. The introduction

stressed the importance of furthering the ordinary relations, the non-political, non-economic relations between peoples—the “popular relations” as they were sometimes called.⁸⁴

The Council had played its part in the war effort, stated the report, but that part might be nearing a conclusion and it must begin to “prepare a greater part in the no less difficult peace effort,” for it was more naturally an instrument of peace.⁸⁵

In reviewing the developing policies of the Council and in planning for the post-war program, the point was strongly emphasized that cultural relations should not be competitive but reciprocal. The report made clear the Council’s opinion that “no Government should look with equanimity on the prospect after the war of international competition in the cultural field.” The statement concluded: “Those in charge of cultural relations should bring messages of peace and good sense and that of each country should be complementary to the others. . . .”⁸⁶

Among the many significant developments in the Council’s work during the first ten years were: the start of an effective program in China; the increasing attention given to music; the developing interest in medical work which was becoming an important part of the programs of the overseas establishments; and the services rendered to the Allied Armed Forces in Great Britain.

WORK WITH THE RESIDENT FOREIGNERS IN GREAT BRITAIN

EVEN before the outbreak of the war there were many foreign nationals, largely German refugees, who had taken refuge in the United Kingdom. Later Polish, Norwegian, Dutch, and French nationals came in great numbers and added a large contingent of civilians and members of the

armed forces to the foreign population of Great Britain. The British Council was entrusted with the general and educational welfare of these foreign residents—refugees from Nazi oppression and men, women, and children from enemy-occupied lands.

The means used by the Council included the teaching of English, the distribution of books and periodicals, film shows, lectures, and concerts. One of the increasing problems was that of the continued education of students and children. The Council worked not only with civilians but with the men of the armed forces.

The Council cooperated with the different national groups in the development of the many national and other centers like the Belgian Institute in London and the Scottish French House in Edinburgh. Working with the Allied Governments in exile, it began to train men and women for the post-war reconstruction work that they would carry on when they returned to their own countries.

It was the British Council that, in 1942, after consultation with the Foreign Office, proposed to the Secretary of the Board of Education the establishment of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education which carried on an active program in preparation for educational reconstruction in post-war Europe.

In March, 1944, the United States Government announced that it was prepared to cooperate with the Conference and sent an American delegation headed by the Hon. J. William Fulbright to London. During the meetings a preliminary constitution for a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization was prepared.

In cooperation with the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Air Ministry, the Council made its services increasingly available to the armed forces of the Allies and to the Allied and neutral merchant seamen arriving in British ports.³⁷

THE BRITISH COUNCIL AND OVERSEAS TRADE

THE question of the relationship of the British cultural program abroad to the British program of economic expansion in other countries was raised more or less directly many times during the first ten years of the Council's existence. The French authorities always believed that better cultural relations with other countries led to better economic relations. A similar point of view held by the British is clearly expressed in an article on the British Council entitled "British Council Survey and Annual Review" published in the *War Time Trading Bulletin* in 1944. The British Council, stated the article, "is an organization whose world wide activities are promoting goodwill for Britain and paving the way for British overseas trade in the post-war era."

The following paragraph on the British Council and overseas trade also appeared in this survey.

The British Council is often asked to act for foreign countries as an intermediary in finding and selecting Technical Advisers, Professors and Lecturers in such subjects as Naval Construction, Metallurgy, and Industrial Chemistry, as well as more academic subjects such as Physics, Mathematics, Astronomy, Gynaecology, Geology, and Organic Chemistry from which the effect on trade relations might be regarded as less direct. It has been found again and again that where foreign technicians or business executives have received their training from a British staff, they are far more likely to turn towards British firms for tools and materials.³⁸

1944-1945

A summary of the Council's overseas activities was given in the annual report for 1944-45. There were 31 representatives of the Council with offices in foreign countries and in

British colonies and 99 British Institutes and similar centers in operation by March, 1945. Plans were being made to re-establish the Institutes in Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy. The total number of students and members of the British Institutes had increased to 24,700, while the total number of students and members in the Cultural Societies in Latin America had risen to 33,344. The Council was teaching English to more than 10,000 students in Turkey alone. A hundred and sixty-one students, most of them post-graduates, had been brought to Great Britain with British Council scholarships. During the period between March, 1941 and March, 1945, 37 British professors and lecturers had been appointed to foreign universities and centers of higher education through the Council's agency. Eight schools were controlled and nearly one hundred were financially assisted by the Council in the Mediterranean area.

Of significance to the development of post-war policy was the statement of the Council that, in furthering cultural relations, or popular relations as they were sometimes called, among all peoples, the emphasis should be on common interests rather than on the difference between one national way of life and others. In this connection the report stated:

To such an extent are these popular relations grounded upon community of interest that a great part of the Council's work or that of any other cultural relations organisation, lies in providing information which is of direct, immediate, practical interest to those who ask for it; information about British developments and discoveries for doctors and scientists, instruction in the English language for teachers of English, the opportunity for young professional men and research workers to carry on their studies in Britain; information on their common workaday problems for people in all walks of life. This work, conducted as one side of an exchange, rather than the international projection (as it is called) of Britain and the British way of life is the core of popu-

lar relations, as it is the core of amicable relationship between individuals.³⁹

1945-1946

As the war in Europe drew to a close the House of Commons became more and more concerned with the place in the post-war world of the four agencies which had been dealing with overseas publicity, the Press Attachés at the British Embassies, the British Council, the Ministry of Information and the Overseas Services of the B.B.C. There was a long debate in the House on May 18, 1945, on the future of these four closely related services. Many questions were raised as to the work of a committee which had been set up to study the "work of the British Council, its organization, what the future of its activities should be, how its purpose could best be fulfilled, and what its relation to the central Government should be." Much apprehension was expressed that there might be some curtailment of the work of the Council and all members who spoke urged that the work, instead of being curtailed, should be considerably expanded.⁴⁰

The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Hall, said that the inquiry into the Council's activities was no reflection on its work and that the Council "need have no apprehension that it ought not to continue its work with full energy." There was no desire to interfere in any way with the work of the Council, but the tremendous expansion of this work and the increase in grants from £5,500 in 1935 to £3,500,000 in 1944-45 as well as the importance of the work called for such an inquiry. "The Council now operates in no fewer than 38 countries," continued Mr. Hall, "in nine of which the activities are well developed and semi-developed in eight, while the Council have some activities in another 21 countries. This does not include the liberated countries in Europe, where activities have already been com-

menced. In addition, the Council has had increased activities in this country due to the war, but these are likely to decrease with the departure of the Allied troops. One of my hon. Friends made the point that this work should be followed up. We are hoping it will be possible that some activity of the British Council will be established in countries from which, in the main, Allied troops were drawn, and I have no doubt that the suggestion made by my hon. Friend will be borne in mind." Although a much larger sum had been requested, the grants to the Council for 1945-46 had been reduced to £2,800,000 from more than £3,500,000 for 1944-45. The grant for 1944-45 had been underspent, said Mr. Hall, and there was a considerable amount of leeway to make up. If additional expenditure was required as a result of the inquiry, a supplementary estimate would be considered. He concluded, "The work that is being done is long-term work, but is very, very important and it is not the intention of those who are considering the recommendations of the Findlater Stewart Report at the present time to do anything to damp down the work which has been so well done." ⁴¹

After the end of hostilities, the Government continued to give serious consideration to the kinds of information services which should be maintained, both within Great Britain and overseas in peacetime. The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, told the House of Commons on December 17, 1945, that, while these services should be financially reduced, they had "an important and permanent part in the machinery of Government under modern conditions." He continued:

It is essential to good administration under a democratic system that the public shall be adequately informed about the many matters in which Government action directly impinges on their daily lives, and it is in particular important that a true and adequate picture of British policy, British institutions and the British way of life should be presented overseas.

In the view of the Government, the responsibility of a Department must rest with its Minister, but there are various technical functions, notably on the production side, which it would be uneconomical to organize departmentally, and which can best be performed centrally as a common service. For this purpose we propose that departmental information services shall be supplemented by a central office performing certain common technical and production functions and making specialist services available to Departments for both home and overseas purposes. To be effective, this office, like the Government information services generally, will need a highly qualified rather than a large staff.¹²

The general organization of the information services was announced by the Prime Minister on December 17, 1945. The Ministry of Information was to come to an end on March 31, 1946. After that time ministers would be responsible to Parliament for the information policy just as for other activities of their departments. The Foreign Office would take over the overseas services which had been under the Ministry of Information.⁴³ A Central Office of Information was to be established for the production and procurement of materials for all ministries.

In the meantime, some concern was felt about the future of the British Council. Sir Malcolm Robertson had tendered his resignation on the ground that, with the greatly increased work of the Council, it was impractical for him to combine parliamentary duties with those of the chairmanship, and for some months the Council had no chairman.

Lord Tweedsmuir, commenting on the British Council in the House of Lords on February 27, 1946, said: "Its idea is excellent and its achievements undoubted." He added, however, "It has suffered over a long period under the unprofitable status of being officially unofficial; it has been in a state of suspended animation awaiting the Government's decision." ⁴⁴

The report of the Council for 1945-46, however, indicates that it not only continued many of its activities abroad during this difficult period, but extended them to the liberated countries of Europe which, after years of Nazi domination, were eager to renew contact with the outside world.⁴⁵ In fact, the Council had "the honour and the advantage of following almost everywhere in the footsteps" of the British fighting man, stated a leading article in *The Times* of London, and continued: "gratitude for his victory revived or created all over the continent intense interest in the way of life which inspired him and the institutions which had stood the test of total war."⁴⁶

As soon as it was feasible, British Council representatives began to establish programs in one liberated country after another. In spite of the paper shortage, large numbers of books and periodicals were sent abroad to meet the tremendous demand for information about Great Britain which came from official bodies such as government departments, and from educational institutions, research organizations, and individuals. During the year, in accordance with a change of policy, an increasing proportion of the Council's funds were devoted to the building up of British Council libraries which would be a permanent asset to the Council, although some presentations to universities, research institutes, Anglophil Societies, and schools were continued.⁴⁷

The report noted the decision, made early in 1946, to withdraw the Book Export Scheme, through which as a war measure, special credit terms and sale on return facilities had been extended to book sellers abroad, and to return the trade to normal channels as soon as possible.

The Council's book copyright work increased during this period, and the book review scheme was extended. Forty-one brochures in twelve languages were published.

A stream of visitors began to pour into the United Kingdom, most of whom came from Europe or from the Near

East. The British Council's report for this period lists the names of more than 260 persons, many of whom were the Council's guests. Among the important delegations were the French Medical Delegation of ten members, headed by Professor Bandourin, Dean of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, who came to Great Britain as guests of the Council and the Royal College of Physicians; and a delegation of twenty-eight Belgian professors, representing different professions, who were all members of the Fondation Universitaire. Other groups included Belgian sister-tutors, Norwegian doctors, and Dutch women doctors. A number of teachers and educators visited Great Britain to study recent educational developments. Among the visitors interested in agriculture were two parties of French agriculturalists, the Director of the National Agricultural Research Bureau of China, the Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture of Nanking University and a professor of Agricultural Entomology of the University of Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁸

The student program was greatly extended. Four hundred and five new graduate scholarships were offered and 307 were finally awarded by the Council for the year 1945-46. With 148 extensions from 1944-45, a total of 455 Council scholarships was reached. The Council also handled the cases of some 400 private students. Although seriously overcrowded, the British universities continued to open their doors to these students from other lands. A Student's Welfare Section to deal with the social welfare of students was organized in the Home Division of the Council.⁴⁹

As the Allied Forces left Great Britain, the leave courses were diminished, but a number of specialized courses were established to meet the needs of the foreign students and other foreign visitors. Typical of these courses were a vacation course in electrical engineering at Queen Mary College, London, and a course given at the University of St. Andrews

on "Britain, its System of Government, of Education and Life, and its Ideals of Empire."

An interchange of visits between the Old Vic Company and the Comédie Française proved to be a most successful venture.

The lecture program, which had been seriously curtailed during the war, was again given an important place among the Council's overseas activities. During the year more than sixty lecturers were sent abroad to speak on a variety of subjects. Vernon Bartlett, M. P., lectured in Denmark and France on "The British Parliament at War," and on "The New Britain," for example, while Bertram Abrahart, Secretary of the Workers Educational Association, Northern District, visited Sweden to speak on "Social Services" and Sir Lawrence Bragg, Head of Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, lectured on "X-Ray Analysis" in France and Portugal.⁶⁰

The Council tried to meet the constantly increasing demand for English courses and for the training of teachers of English in foreign lands.

The same report described the opening of a British Institute of Higher Studies in Greece. In Hungary, where, in 1945, English was given an equal standing with French, German, and Russian in the secondary schools, the Council was able to provide a number of professors and lecturers to assist in the training of teachers of English. In the Scandinavian countries and in Belgium, in response to the needs expressed by the ministers of education of the countries concerned, an increasing number of British Council summer schools was established, which gave courses in the English language and literature. Some twenty experienced lecturers from British universities and adult education organizations were sent by the Council to teach the courses.

The following statement from the *Monthly Review of the*

British Council of July 1, 1946 shows the kinds of activities furthered in Poland during the early post-war period:

The Bureau of Scientific Information inaugurated by the Council is becoming one of our busiest and most important activities. Polish scientific works recently sent to England, nearly all of which contained comprehensive English summaries, totalled 366. 61 requests for English scientific books, and 79 for scientific periodicals have been received from Poland.

The Science Officer went to Krakow where he visited all scientific institutions and most of the Universities' important scientists. Requests for the Council's assistance were on a gigantic scale and have necessitated the establishment of a careful priorities list.

The Council's proposal to use its lecturers in Poland to conduct countrywide courses for Polish teachers of English has been accepted with gratitude by the Ministry of Education.

The Council has been requested by the Ministry to send a set of its publications to all schools in Poland where English is taught.

A presentation was made by the Rector and Librarian of Warsaw University to the Acting Representative of a very fine specimen of a 16th Century Bible in English. A set of Polish text books was presented by the Polish Ministry of Education to the Council's Warsaw office.

44 British Council fellows were received from London. Ten of them were shown by the Ministry of Health to medical audiences in Warsaw, and then sent by the Ministry to the provinces.

British music supplied by the Council was performed by Radio Polski on 14th March and 17th, 21st and 22nd April.⁵¹

During the year a number of films were completed, including "This is Britain," (nos. 1, 2, and 3), "Routine Job" (Scotland Yard), "General Election," "Education for the Deaf," and "Signs and Stages of Anaesthesia." On the whole,

a marked improvement in the distribution of films was noted.⁵²

An exhibition of painting by the French artists, Picasso and Matisse, arranged in cooperation with the French Direction des Relations Culturelles was seen by 381,500 people while it was being shown in London, Glasgow and Manchester. Among the exhibitions sent abroad was an exhibition of 120 paintings from the Tate Gallery which was shown in a number of European countries.

In Latin America, according to the report, the Council "had a year of steady and successful progress." Among the activities noted were the opening of the Argentine-British Medical Center in Buenos Aires, the successful experiment made with classes designed especially for professional and technical workers in Uruguay, and the English lessons given by wireless in Chile.⁵³

Within the United Kingdom a large program was continued. A scheme was developed through which members of the occupying forces in Europe were detached for periods of three weeks at a time during which they worked with their "opposite numbers" in the British trades and industries, as well as in the professions. The activities in the national and Allied centers in Great Britain were also furthered.

1946-1947

FINALLY an announcement of plans for the Council was made on June 6, 1946, by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The work of the Council had been carefully reviewed in relation to the work and organization of the Government's overseas program, he said, and continued:

It has been decided that the Council shall continue to work under its Charter for another five years, after which the position shall again be reviewed. General Sir Ronald Adam has been appointed Chairman of the Council. In order to avoid overlapping between

the British Council and the Government's overseas information services, it has been laid down that in the future the Council's scope will be restricted to educational and cultural work. Provision is consequently being made for close consultation between the Council and the Overseas Departments responsible for information work, and there will in general be a closer scrutiny by the Government of the Council's projected activities. The Council will, like the information services, draw on the Central Office of Information for the production and procurement of its material. The British Council will continue to be financed by a grant in aid paid by the Foreign Office, and the Colonial Office will continue to repay the Council for the expenses of its work in and for the territories for which the British Council is responsible.⁵⁴

Commenting on the Government's decision, the report of the Council for 1945-46 stated: "This naturally affects the Council's work, but to a far smaller extent than might be supposed, for the greater part of its work is already educational and cultural, and this restriction permits of concentration upon what are, in fact, the essentials."⁵⁵

With the renewal of its Charter for another five years, the British Council could now plan ahead. Sir Ronald Adam, taking over his duties as Chairman, in a message to the staff, stated that the Council would continue as an independent body for at least five years and that these years would be the most important in the Council's history. He added that he felt convinced that after five years it would be found necessary to continue the Council's work.⁵⁶

The Foreign Office soon began to clarify the functions of the overseas information services under the new organization, and to outline their relationships not only to the Foreign Office as a whole, but also to the British Council and to the Central Office of Information. A Cultural Relations Department within the Foreign Office was to concern itself with the British Council policy and expenditure, the liaison be-

tween the British Council and the Foreign Office and relations with UNESCO as well as all other questions of educational and cultural interest.

The lines of demarcation between the work of the Council and that of the British Information Services were soon more clearly defined by the authorities. As the chief agent of the British Government for the conduct of cultural relations with other countries, the Council's task, in the wider sense, was to be that of furthering "long-term education in the English language, British arts and sciences, and British institutions." The Council was given full responsibility for the strictly cultural subjects which include the English language, British drama, fine arts, literature, and music. For these cultural subjects the Council might use all media of publicity and education and could choose its own methods. In dealing with the more general subjects concerned with other aspects of British life and thought, however, when there might be overlapping with the work of the Information Services, the Council was to take an educational approach with both individuals and groups, either through a long-term educational program or through shorter but intensive educational activities. In other words, the Council's work in these general subjects was education, not publicity.

On the other hand, to the British Information Services was given the full responsibility for explaining strictly political subjects, namely, the current policies and actions of the British Government as well as those of other Governments. Since the aim of the British Overseas Information was to ensure the presentation in other countries of "a true and adequate picture of British policy, British institutions, and the British way of life," the Information Services would also deal with the general subjects but the emphasis was to be on publicity and information services rather than on long-term educational methods.

The Council, then, was to continue its work with schools,

University students, teachers, youth groups and educational organizations which had an interest in the English language and in British life. It was to develop British Council Centers abroad where these educational groups might meet. It was also to have close contact with learned and professional societies and occupational groups and to undertake to educate members of these "specialist groups" in British methods and achievements in their special subjects. In carrying out its educational and cultural program, the Council might continue to make use of the various media, including books and periodicals, exhibitions, photographs, posters, film strips, publications, films, and press articles, for which the materials in general were to be procured through the Central Office of Information, although they might be produced specifically for the Council. The Council's program also included broadcasting, the appointment of British teachers and advisers to foreign Governments, institutions, or other bodies, assistance to schools abroad, a widespread lecture program, the training of students either in Great Britain or elsewhere and the bringing of foreigners to Great Britain. The teaching of English was to be emphasized throughout the program. The work with resident foreigners in the United Kingdom was continued.

A survey of the British Council's activities as reported during the first eight months of the fiscal year 1946-47 showed that a very active program was being furthered.

While there was strong emphasis on the development of cultural activities in the countries of Europe and the Near East, the work in the Latin American Republics and in China was not neglected. Since there was no British Council program in the United States, the British Information Services continued to function and supplied many important informational and cultural services to the American public. These services, according to an official statement, were established in May, 1942, as an agency of the British Government, "in

response to widespread demands in the United States for a source of authoritative information about all things British." The statement continued:

The older British Library of Information, founded in 1920, and the British Press Service, 1940, were absorbed into the new organization.

British Information Services consists of four Divisions: The *Reference Division* with a large library and extensive reference files; the *Press and Radio Division* to deal with those two great media of public information; the *Film Division* to arrange for the exhibition of films produced under British official auspices; and the *General Division* which arranges programs for British speakers, plans exhibitions, and publishes pamphlets and other printed material illustrating various phases of British life.⁵⁷

In June, 1946, the British Government took an important step in approving the extension of the full range of the Council's activities to the area within the jurisdiction of the Dominions Office. By agreement with the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, the British Council was to establish its own offices in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand during the current year.⁵⁸

As the post-war programs developed, the use of the newer media of communication, the radio and the cinema, was emphasized in both informational and cultural programs.

With the improvement of travel conditions, an increasingly important place was given to the interchange of persons, which activity had been seriously curtailed during the war. In addition to the regular British Council scholarships offered for study in Great Britain, a series of short vacation courses for both young people and adults was developed which brought numerous foreign visitors to the United Kingdom. At Dulwich, for example, in August, 1946, an International Teachers Course for selected teachers from over-

seas was arranged by the Ministry of Education and the British Council working together. Seven Belgians, six Czechs, seven Dutch, seven French, four Greeks, two Luxembourgers, five Norwegians, ten Poles, and three Swiss arrived from overseas at the invitation of the British Council to join the forty British teachers invited to attend the course. Also typical of the vacation courses given during the same summer was a short non-specialist agricultural course held at the Monmouthshire Institute of Agriculture, which was attended by Indian, Egyptian, and Canadian students.⁵⁹ As guests of the British Council, there also arrived in the United Kingdom each month an increasing number of distinguished visitors including experts in scientific fields, architects, librarians, physicians, university professors, directors, artists, and musicians. For example, the Council's *Review* of October 1 listed among other recent guests of the Council, Professor Brunner, Rector of Innsbruck University; Professor Precechtal, ear, nose, and throat specialist from Czechoslovakia; Baron Hoyningen Huene, publisher from Finland; Dr. Zeki Akkoyunlu, musician from Turkey; Señor Casal Rocco, architect, from Uruguay.⁶⁰

On the other hand, the Council began to re-emphasize the sending of distinguished British professors and specialists to lecture, to attend meetings, to act as consultants, and to perform other services abroad with a view to making British life and thought known and understood by the peoples of other lands.

The *Review* of October 1, for example, noted that Sir Howard Florey, F.R.S., had been in Bogotá, Colombia where his three lectures had been "enthusiastically received by approximately 1500 people—doctors, medical students, and the general public." Mr. Wright, documentary film producer and film critic was to leave for a lecture tour for the Council in Greece and Egypt. Mr. McColvin, Chief Librarian of the City of Westminster, was to leave early in October for a

visit to the Middle East, Australia, and the USA. Sir Reginal Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History at the University of Oxford, had gone to lecture in Copenhagen and Aarhus. Sir Erich Maclagen was lecturing in Poland and Czechoslovakia on such subjects as "British Mediaeval Sculpture," and "Modern English Sculpture." Among the appointments to foreign universities of British professors was that of a professor of English to the University of Padua, Italy, a post which is subsidized by the British Council.⁶¹

In cooperation with the education authorities of the countries concerned, a number of summer schools for the teaching of English were established abroad by the Council. Professors from Great Britain were often sent out to teach these courses. One of these schools in Norway was described in the *Monthly Review of the British Council* of November 1, 1946. The following statements were included in the description:

On an arm of the Nordfjord, some twenty-four hours by steamer beyond Bergen, well north of the Shetlands, on latitude equal with the Faeroes, lies Sandane. . . .

To the wooden building of the Firda Gymnas at Sandane, a secondary school of considerable reputation, early in July came sixty Norwegian teachers, mostly from elementary schools or the training colleges preparing for them. They were accompanied by representatives of the men's and women's teachers associations, to act as host and hostess: Miss Hanssen and Mr. Sommersett, two persons outstanding for competence and sheer character. The party was completed by the five Englishmen who had come out specially to provide the intensive course which was the object of the operation. All these threads had been drawn together, not without overcoming difficulties, by the Council's Representative in Norway, with the full backing of the Norwegian Ministry of Education, which wishes to extend and strengthen the teaching of English to Norwegians at every level. The "students" were enrolled by the teachers' organizations, which had succeeded in

assembling a varied representation from Tromsø and Kristiansand—1,000 miles apart—and many different places in between. It took some of them nearly a week to get there by the quickest route. At least one cycled, and was ten days on the way. . . . I know that my colleagues would agree in saying that the Norwegians impressed us just as much as we seem to have impressed them. 'Spiritual mal-nutrition' was exactly what they did not show; their spirit was tremendous, and the intensity of their feeling for Norwegian songs and landscape, and the dignity of their own place in the world's civilization, combined with their frankness and sense of fun, are what we shall not forget.⁶²

Comparable courses for teachers of English were organized in a number of other countries, including Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Belgium.

The Monthly Reviews of the British Council note many other activities during the summer and autumn of 1946. The Old Vic Company visited New York and "played to packed houses and enthusiastic audiences." These performances were given under the joint auspices of Theatre Incorporated (American) and the Governors of the Old Vic and the British Council. The British Council also assisted two British conductors to fulfill engagements during August. John Barbirolli conducted a concert at the Salzburg Festival and Sir Malcolm Sargent conducted at the Lucerne Festival. It was reported that many requests for "music on hire" had been received and during the same months over forty major works left London for performances abroad. A new library of sheet music was sent to Bulgaria. New and reprinted scores were added to the music libraries at Buenos Aires, Quito, Cairo, Athens, Budapest, Rome, Malta, The Hague, Accra, and Belgrade.

An exhibition of Modern British Painting organized by the Tate Gallery under the auspices of the British Council, was shown in both Austria and Czechoslovakia during the

autumn months. In Stockholm, an exhibition of British scientific instruments was opened by Sir Charles Darwin, who was the guest of the Swedish Government. Another exhibition, "Replanning Britain" also aroused much interest in Sweden. The Periodicals Department was especially active during this period. "To the Europe as anxious to know what has been happening behind the curtain of isolation as it is for bread or medicines, the Council has been able by its distribution of periodicals, to bring immediate and effective relief," stated the *Monthly Review* for October 1:

The task of the Periodicals Department in bridging the seven years gap is threefold: to reach the individual—whether he be the ordinary reader who wants to know how other ordinary readers in Great Britain are living, the artist who must make contact with other artists, or the physician needing information on his own special subject—by sending a wide selection of periodicals to the Council reading-room or library and to Council-supported Anglophil societies; to provide state, university, and special libraries with current issues of the specialist periodicals to which they subscribed before the war but are now unable to buy owing to currency difficulties; and to help British and European learned societies and institutions to reestablish their pre-war contacts and exchanges of publications.⁶⁸

A number of brochures were published including, in the British Life and Thought Series, *British Universities*, by Sir Ernest Barker, *British Libraries*, by L. R. McColvin, and *English Literature* (Hungarian) by B. Ifor Evans. The printing figures for the September issue of *Britain Today* were:

English edition—	37,174
French	— 6,274
Portuguese	— 2,560
Spanish	— 918

For its work for the year 1946-47 the Council was again given a grant of £3,500,000.

On November 22, 1946, *The Times* of London, reviewing the report of the British Council for 1945-46, stated:

The enthusiasm for Britain felt in the liberated countries in 1944 has naturally suffered checks and dilution since, and debts of gratitude are not everywhere the assets they once were. Now prestige and good relations must be based on practical policies, on personal contacts in the family and specialist spheres, on exchanges of facts, and facilities for study and travel. It is sound and practical that in present day Yugoslavia the British Council should concentrate on the teaching of English and the spread of scientific and medical information, not only through books and films, but also through the training in London of Yugoslavs as orthopaedic mechanics. In Poland, when English is taught in thousands of schools, the first task has been to improve the English of hundreds of teachers who have heard and read no English for seven years.⁶⁴

With the renewal of its Charter for another five years the British Council could now plan ahead. "The basis for future advances have been laid in most countries," concluded the article, "and improvement in international communications and currency conditions should facilitate its principal task to promote the free movement of persons and ideas to and from Britain."

The Economist, discussing the same report, in an article entitled, "British Council, 1947," expressed its concern over several obstacles which must be surmounted by the Council in the development of its program. Activities had been over-expanded in certain countries like Spain, and one of the problems of the Council was to find a way to correct the unbalance between countries. It was important to improve the insecurity of tenure which made it difficult to secure the

best men and women for its purposes. The problem of producing materials suitable to regional needs instead of goods that purported to be suitable for world-wide distribution must be faced. *The Economist* also discussed the overlapping between work of the Information Services and the work of the Council, especially in "the vast no-mans-land of subjects that are neither wholly political nor wholly cultural," in which "the Council tackles the expert and the Information Service the *plebs*."⁶⁵

It was good to learn that there was recognition of overseas publicity as a necessary government activity, whether through a chartered body, such as the Council or another agency, the article stated and added:

The Council has a heavy year ahead. It has to conduct its business against the odds described, and on means that are unlikely to be commensurate with the additional work of feeding a starved Europe with intellectual food.

A grant-in-aid of at least £5,000,000 for next year should be well spent particularly if arrangements were made for dovetailing the work of the British Council more economically with the Foreign Office service. By all reports, the Council has in Sir Ronald Adam a thoughtful, inventive and inspiring chief at its head, and is already feeling the advantage of a strong helmsman. Everyone with experience of "abroad" knows that the Council is capable of bringing in results—political, social and commercial—that are commensurate with the outlay involved.⁶⁶

*Latin America: Cultural Progress
in Four Republics*



IN GENERAL, the cultural programs abroad of the other American Republics have antedated that of the United States. Each of the twenty-one republics of our hemisphere has such an official program—as have also the Dominion Government of Canada and the Insular Government of Puerto Rico—with variation in magnitude and scope proportional, generally, to national income. The programs of Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico present interesting points of similarity and contrast.

I. CHILE: APPROACH THROUGH SCHOOLS
AND UNIVERSITIES

THE cultural program of Chile has been historically a program first and foremost of education, carried on by educators. For generations the schools of Chile have reached beyond the national frontiers. Chilean “supremacy in the culture of Latin America” attained through “the interchange of students and teachers on a large scale” was one of the arguments used by the Spanish Minister of Education and Fine Arts in 1907, in presenting to the Cortes at Madrid

a plan for broadening Spain's own educational interchanges with other nations.¹

As early as 1821, James Thompson, a Scotsman, brought to Chile the system of instruction developed by Joseph Lancaster, an Englishman—a system the introduction of which into South America previously had been urged, and encouraged financially out of his own pocket, by Bolívar. O'Higgins was a member and promoter of the Lancaster Society established in Chile by Thompson, and appointed a commission to work with him in establishing schools that flourished for some eleven years.² Andrés Bello, Venezuelan educator, statesman, and man of letters, had been called to Chile in 1829 to advise that country's Foreign Office and to help reorganize the system of public education. One of the resultant institutions was the University of Chile, of which Bello became head in 1842. "The University of Chile was founded largely on the model of the University of Paris. . . . The law which created the University of Chile, and at the same time organized public education, was a replica in some respects of the French law."³ In 1842 also, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, later to be President of Argentina but then a fugitive from Rosas, was appointed head of the first normal school in Chile—and also in South America—an institution still flourishing, where many teachers from other Spanish-speaking countries have been trained. In spite of the then precarious state of the national budget, the Government of Chile sent Sarmiento to observe and report upon school systems in England and the United States. Deeply impressed by the public schools in the latter country, Sarmiento became a close friend of Horace Mann (another cultural consequence of Sarmiento's trip was Mrs. Mann's translation into English of his great novel, *Facundo*), and upon return to Chile, wrote two works on popular education and common education respectively to persuade the Chilean people of the necessity of laying especial importance on the work of

"the primary and common school." Following two decades in Chile, Sarmiento, as President of Argentina, was able to put into practice in his own country his educational program.⁴

About a half-century after Bello, another brilliant educator and man of letters from the Caribbean area, the Puerto Rican Eugenio María de Hostos, who had established the first normal school of Santo Domingo and modernized the educational system of that country, also contributed largely during ten years residence, from 1889 to 1899, to the advancement of the Chilean public school, and of the University, which through his influence became the first in Hispanic America to open its doors to women.⁵

The debt Chile owed these three Hispanic American cultural ambassadors, Bello, Sarmiento, and de Hostos, always generously acknowledged, has been no less generously repaid through the years by the educational advantages Chile has given to students from all parts of Hispanic America.

German influences have also helped shape the Chilean school. In 1885 the normal schools for women imported German professors to reorganize the curriculum. In 1889 German professors were given the key positions in the Teachers Institute. In 1893 the school named for Valentín Letelier, "who was inspired and guided by the German educational system," was opened with a German faculty. In consequence of all this, the Chilean secondary school, or *liceo*, has been patterned on the German Gymnasium, and German influence has been a forceful element in contemporary Chilean education.⁶

Education, long recognized by the Chilean Government as one of its most important exports, is also the basis of its official cultural program. The University of Chile has trained a surprisingly large number of persons prominent in official, literary, and professional life of the other republics.⁷ A recent Director of Culture in the Venezuelan Ministry of Education is not only a graduate of the University of Chile but

has served on its faculty. Several of the leading lawyers of Nicaragua were educated there. When the Bolivian Government decided to found the Pedro Domingo Murillo Paz Vocational School at La Paz—an excellent institution, the best of its kind in Bolivia—it sent the eight young professors who were to establish it to Chile that they might study methods in vocational education. In September, 1944, the Government of Panama employed four Chilean professors of mathematics, four of history and geography, two of biology and chemistry, one of drawing, one of music, and one of home economics, for service in Panamanian schools. Typical of the invitations issued by Chile to students in other countries is that extended by the University's Agronomical and Veterinary School to thirty-six students of the College of Agronomy and Veterinary Science in Buenos Aires, who arrived at Santiago in January, 1945, for a tour of Chilean truck and dairy farms, agricultural schools, and similar establishments.

The Chilean Commission of Intellectual Cooperation was created in 1930, and in 1931 was reorganized "by the University of Chile, with the support of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education."⁸ Although "an autonomous institution that does not depend on the State," the Commission's headquarters are in the National University of Chile, its executive committee of five members includes a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and one of the Ministry of Education, while the Chairman is a representative of the University. According to its Secretary-General, Dr. Francisco Walker Linares, the Commission "concerns itself with scholarship awards to Chileans for study abroad . . . , has sent Chilean books to numerous institutions in other American countries and has even formed, either directly or through its cultural institutes, libraries of Chilean authors in cities such as Buenos Aires, Caracas, La Paz . . . , has sponsored exhibitions [at home and abroad] . . . ,

has organized numerous cultural institutes [among them the Chilean-Argentine Cultural Institute, founded in 1934, the Chilean-Bolivian Institute, the Chilean-Brazilian, the Chilean-North American].” Since 1937 the Commission has published a quarterly bulletin of cultural news, domestic and foreign, which is distributed to the country’s diplomatic missions by the Foreign Office.

Chile has drawn up a number of cultural treaties with other American Republics. All are on the pattern of the agreement on cultural interchange signed by the Chilean and Ecuadoran Foreign Ministers in the Government Palace at Quito, October 30, 1942, in the presence of the President of Ecuador, the Minister of State and members of the Diplomatic Corps. The agreement facilitates exchange of professors and students and mutual recognition of professional degrees; encourages arts and crafts exhibitions by each country in the other, and similarly, reciprocal book fairs; affirms governmental support for cultural institutes and intellectual cooperation; announces forthcoming establishment of Chilean sections in the National Library of Ecuador, and vice versa; declares the intention of each Government to further among its own people knowledge of the cultural achievements of the other.

On June 29, 1944, upon creation by the House of Deputies of the post of Cultural Relations Attaché at Chilean Embassies, *La Hora*, of Santiago, published the following editorial comment:

The measure [is based] on concepts of brotherhood and acquaintance among peoples, on the necessity of our establishing stronger ties with other nations, not only through commercial channels and economic interchanges but also by means of cultural interchange. As regards the Americas in particular, the present war has made evident the deep, great barriers separating the Republics of the New World. . . . The conflict has had one gainful

aspect for the Americas, and that is that it has made us see the need of union. . . . In the first place, we should begin by learning more thoroughly the history that we share in common, by fostering culture and the higher products of the intellect. In the Diplomatic Service this specialized work should be in charge of outstanding representatives of the best minds of Chile.

II. ARGENTINA: APPROACH THROUGH BOOKS

IN 1936 the Argentine Government created its National Commission of Intellectual Cooperation. In 1941 the Commission's annual report declared that it was continuing to function efficiently "in spite of international conditions, as is shown by the fact that during the latter months of 1941 [after two years of war in Europe], the Committee of Cultural Relations of Leningrad, the Library of the University of Kiel in Germany, and the British Council have all asked for information about activities and for books." In 1941, according to this report, the Commission sent "numerous collections of Argentine books" to ten universities in the United States and to numerous national and private libraries throughout the hemisphere.⁹

During those first five years of its existence the Commission distributed 100,000 copies of its weekly bibliographical bulletin "to the principal public and private libraries of America and Europe"; and sponsored exhibitions of Argentine books at Rome, Paris, Brussels, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago de Chile, and Lima, presenting ten thousand volumes to educational institutions in these countries.¹⁰

In a report bringing data current to May, 1944, the Commission of Intellectual Cooperation gave account of its own extensive program of book publishing, including translation into several languages for free distribution of notable works of Argentine literature.¹¹

Besides gift collections of these and other volumes to in-

stitutions in many countries, the Commission has donated to museums special collections illustrative of Argentine arts and crafts—textiles, ceramics, and the like—and has established a bureau for interscholastic correspondence among school children of the Americas.¹²

The Division of Foreign Information (Dirección de Informaciones al Exterior) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs publishes a handsomely printed “slick paper” monthly magazine, profusely illustrated, edited in three languages for distribution abroad: *Informaciones Argentinas* in Spanish, *Informações Argentinas* in Portuguese, and *Argentine News* in English.

The Ministry's National Commission of Intellectual Co-operation publishes the weekly *Boletín Bibliográfico Argentino* mentioned above, which as the title indicates, gives Argentine book news, and ten thousand copies of which are distributed gratis to libraries and other cultural centers abroad, as well as in Argentina.¹³

In 1936, the year when the Commission of Intellectual Co-operation was created, the Argentine national holiday, May 25, was commemorated at Itamaraty Palace in Rio de Janeiro by the signing on the part of the Brazilian Foreign Minister and the Argentine Ambassador of several treaties and agreements for cultural and commercial interchange. Among these was an agreement—afterward enacted into law in each country—to establish in Brazil an annual governmental Prize of the Argentine Republic, with a cash award for the best book by a Brazilian writer on some of the contemporary “economic, social, political, artistic and military activities” of Argentina, and to establish in Argentina the corresponding Prize of the United States of Brazil for a book on Brazil by an Argentine writer.¹⁴ Six years later, on September 9, 1944, the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 77 to 4, made the teaching of Portuguese mandatory in all Argentine secondary schools.

The Argentine book abroad is one of the major concerns of the Commission of Intellectual Cooperation with regard to both publicity and distribution. The Argentine Government has in several ways shown its interest in having Buenos Aires become the chief publishing center of Hispanic America, a position that it does in fact hold, in spite of rivalry from Santiago de Chile and Mexico City.

According to the report cited above, Argentine publishers put out 18,000,000 volumes in 1943. In the Argentine Copyright Office (*Registro Nacional de Propiedad Intelectual*) 4,923 works were registered during the year. This figure does not include previously published works issued in new editions, musical and choreographical publications, nor periodical publications, which conjointly amount to some 13,500 additional items. In 1934, the year in which the copyright office first functioned, only 509 works were registered. Comparative figures for the exportation of Argentine books are startling. In 1941, the total number exported to other countries was 7,160,000; in 1942, 10,675,000; and in 1943, 12,245,000. In the last-named year Mexico was the greatest importer of Argentine books, the figure being 3,310,000 volumes; Venezuela imported in that same year 1,685,000; Colombia, 1,668,000; Uruguay, 1,555,000; Peru, 885,000; Brazil 243,000; and the United States, 91,000.

During the years of war in Europe, Argentina's official cultural relations with Spain were made stronger than ever. This fact was emphasized by Foreign Minister Ruiz Guiñazú in 1942 on the "Day of the Race"—Columbus Day, October 12—by the broadcast of a message from Buenos Aires to Spain in which he said that the emancipation of the Spanish colonies was a political but by no means an ideological fact. "Hispano-Americanism of the future must be constructive, linked up with spiritual, historic, geographic and economic reality. This reality shall be cultivated not by words but by deeds."

In April, 1943 the Argentine and Spanish Governments made a convention of intellectual cooperation, to be channelled through five principal media: interchange of publications, books, and reviews; of motion picture films; and of professors; the establishment of reciprocal student scholarships; and the encouragement of tourism. A supplementary agreement to remove restrictions on the reciprocal free entry of books and other publications was signed at Buenos Aires September 7, 1943.

On July 15, 1945, the newly appointed Argentine Minister to Switzerland told the press at Berne that "The cultural ties between Argentina and Switzerland are strongly developed. There is a Swiss-Argentine Cultural Institute at Buenos Aires where it is this year hoped to organize an exhibition of Swiss books."¹⁵

During 1944 and 1945, as diplomatic tension between Argentina and the other American Republics was heightened, the Argentine program of cultural relations was greatly accelerated with these countries also, especially through the efforts of visiting professors, scientists, and artists under government sponsorship; appointment of more Cultural Relations Attachés to Argentine diplomatic missions; the establishment by the National Commission of Culture (*Comisión Nacional de Cultura*), a dependency of the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction, of scholarships for students from other American Republics in specialized technical fields, as well as in literature and the arts. Numerous professional groups from the other republics were invited to visit Argentina as guests of the Government; Argentine cultural representatives were sent on tour through the rest of Hispanic America; and exhibitions of Argentine culture were held in neighboring capitals.

From January 1, 1945, to July 1, 1945, the cultural relations program of the Argentine Government included: in

Ecuador, seven scholarships to Ecuadoran students and professional men for study at Argentine universities, and a contract for a series of lectures in Argentina by the President of the Ecuadoran Academy of History; in Chile, two scholarships for medical dietologists and two dietitians, an Argentine Cultural Exhibit at the Palace of Fine Arts at Santiago, May 18-June 10, 1945, which the Argentine Government publicized generously by paid advertising in the Chilean press and which was attended by 45,724 visitors, and a tour of Argentina by a group of Chilean journalists; in Bolivia, presentation to the "Argentina" Public School at La Paz of plaques, notebooks and other articles with symbolic decorations, cataloging by Argentine librarians of 20,000 volumes donated by the Argentine Government to the La Paz Municipal Library, exhibition at La Paz of woodcuts and engravings from the Superior School of Fine Arts at Buenos Aires, and award of a scholarship for graduate work in veterinary science; in Mexico, a scholarship for an educator to study in Argentina, and a tour of Mexican centers of colonial art by a distinguished Argentine sculptor, an official of the Ministry of Education. The foregoing list, far from complete, is exceedingly fragmentary, and merely suggests the activities carried on by Argentina in the field of cultural relations.

The 1945 report of the National Commission of Intellectual Cooperation emphasized the intensified program of cultural interchange with "institutions, universities, cultural institutes, writers and research workers" of the other American Republics and in so far as circumstances permitted with those of Europe. The report stated:

This continued activity which had been developing for years has contributed not only to dissemination of expressions of the country's mind and spirit, but also has been an important factor

of friendly relationship through which we arrive at a better acquaintance with the countries composing the community of American nations.

The work of the Commission has not been confined to its links with those organisms abroad but has consisted as well of supplying the information requested daily by both teachers and students about topics of their special interest, and of sending out a constant stream of books, reports and informational material. The effectiveness of such work as this lies precisely in the contacts established, which form a veritable network of knowledge with which it is proposed to clear up all malicious propaganda or reports that sow international dislike or distrust.¹⁶

The report states that sizable collections of Argentine books on economics, finance, industry, and commerce were presented in 1945 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia; works on statistics, geography, ethnography, and indigenous problems to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia; with a considerable further distribution to museums, libraries, and universities in Bolivia, Colombia, Great Britain, Spain, and the United States.

"The Commission has laid especial emphasis," the report continues, "on establishing relations with foreign universities, not only for presentation of books but also for interchange of persons. To that end an important delegation of law and medical students from the University of Sucre [Bolivia] was invited to visit Argentina, and for the same purpose, at instance of that University, Dr. Alberto Salinas Valdivieso was invited to study our university organization." The report lists also a Bolivian and a Peruvian visiting professorship in Argentina during the year, official visits from a Peruvian historian and a Venezuelan writer, research at the University of California by an Argentine specialist on metabolism, and an Exhibition of the North American Book held "on the initiative of the Commission and under its

auspices." Of this exhibition the report comments that "A total of two hundred volumes, selected from among the 60,000 published during the past ten years, made up a fine portrayal of graphic arts in the United States. This Exhibition, always under our auspices, was shown at the Provincial Museum of Fine Arts, at Rosario, Santa Fé, and at the National University of Córdoba, with notable effect on artists and the public." In conclusion the report announces forthcoming publication for distribution at home and abroad of a work on Argentine contributions to science.

The chief of the official Argentine mission attending the inauguration of President Alemán of Mexico, interviewed en route by the Salvadoran daily, *El Nacional* (February 3, 1947) declared: "The Argentine book, the Argentine magazine, and the Argentine newspaper, are as good as, if not better than, those coming to us from Europe. All these Argentine books and periodicals are distributed throughout the American continent, and thus contribute to that dissemination of culture and knowledge so necessary in this epoch of moral uncertainty."

Bulletin 228 of the Department of Culture of the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs (January 24, 1947), setting forth the duties of Cultural Attachés of Argentine Embassies, emphasizes their "highly important mission of making widely known the fundamentals of the new point of view predominant in Argentina," and, conversely, of "familiarizing themselves with tendencies and points of view of the countries where they are accredited." "The typical propositions of occidental and Christian culture," continues the Bulletin, "to which by its origin, tradition, and history our country belongs, will be greatly benefited by the work of the Cultural Attachés, exponents of the age-old heritage of ideals, beliefs, and values that has contributed most to the grandeur of mankind. To find the apt point of understanding and mutual appreciation between this culture and that belonging to other

peoples will be the further task of the new diplomatic officials, for our country has ever been characterized as much by an almost mystic respect for the ways of life of other peoples, as by a jealous defense of its own."

III. BRAZIL: THE LINGUISTIC APPROACH

BEFORE establishment of the Republic, Brazil's cultural program abroad was motivated largely by the desire to import to the New World the refinements and graces of the Old. Results were sometimes speedy and epochal, as when the colonial Brazilian art as such ended and modern Brazilian art began in consequence of the school of French artists brought to Rio de Janeiro in 1816, among them Taunay, Lebreton, and Debret, to teach and work in Brazil.¹⁷

In our own day, the Brazilian cultural program with other countries gives much more emphasis to the export of Brazilian than to the import of foreign culture, though not neglecting the latter; and while intensely Brazilian, republican, and American, it is like the Portuguese program of cultural relations abroad in that it stems largely from intense nationalistic pride in the Portuguese language and in the literature written in that language. Foreigners who can read Portuguese are few in comparison with those who read English, French, German, or Spanish; and this fact has given direction to the international cultural relations of Brazil as well as of Portugal. Both countries place high importance on the teaching of Portuguese in other countries.

In 1943, for example, the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, amplifying the then seven-year-old Cultural Convention between Brazil and Argentina, established in cooperation with Argentine authorities and with the branch Institute at Rosario of the Argentine-Brazilian Cultural Institute (Instituto Argentino-Brasileiro de Cultura) free Portuguese language

classes, with a Brazilian teacher, at the Normal School at Rosario. The popularity of these classes, which enrolled four hundred students, led the Brazilian Division of Intellectual Cooperation to establish also in the same year courses on Brazilian literature and the history of Brazil. Prizes awarded in the classes were distributed at the close of the school year by the Minister Graça Aranha, Chief of the Division of Intellectual Cooperation.¹⁸

The Brazilian cultural centers organized in other countries invariably give first importance to the teaching of Portuguese. For example, in May, 1945 the Minister of Brazil in Guatemala, after conferring with the Guatemalan Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Education, concluded arrangements for establishing a Brazilian cultural institute, its chief function to offer classes in Portuguese without charge; the Guatemalan Ministry of Education providing the classroom, and the Commercial Attaché of the Brazilian Legation conducting the classes.¹⁹

The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its Division of Intellectual Cooperation, and the Ministry of Education through various commissions and through the National Institute of the Book (Instituto Nacional do Livro), sponsor also the publication and distribution of Brazilian books translated into other languages as well as in the original texts and likewise assist in preparation and distribution of foreign works in Portuguese translation. In 1936, to cite one of many instances, the Commission on the Theatre, in the Ministry of Education, began publication of Portuguese versions of what an eminent group of Brazilian men of letters had chosen as the twenty greatest plays "of all times and all countries," the first volume published in the series being a translation into Portuguese, commissioned for the purpose, of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.²⁰ The publication program of the Ministry of Education embraces also such works as an anthology of Argentine authors (*Cole-*

ção brasileira de autores argentinos); six volumes by Mexican authors on the history and civilization of their country, the latter a reciprocal gesture for publication by the Mexican Ministry of Education of six Brazilian works.²¹ An anthology of short stories, old and new, from the United States was distributed in part by the Brazilian Government in 1946: *Os Norte-Americanos Antigos e Modernos* (Cía. Editore Leitura, Rio de Janeiro, 1945).

The National Institute of the Book, established in 1941, during the first four years of its existence distributed upward of 350,000 volumes to libraries and other cultural centers at home and abroad.²²

The Treaty of Culture signed at Itamaraty Palace between Brazil and Panama on March 6, 1944, follows the line of a number of recent cultural agreements entered into by Brazil with neighbor republics. Consisting of thirteen articles, it provides for the facilitation of student and professor exchanges and the validation in either country of diplomas and degrees earned in the other. That is to say, the Treaty breaks down a number of existent formalistic and legalistic barriers to a free educational and cultural interchange between the two countries. It further provides for establishment in each capital of a permanent agency to foment and encourage cultural relations and makes provision also for the setting up in the national libraries at Rio de Janeiro and Panama City of a Panamanian and a Brazilian section, respectively.²³ A similar treaty—according to the Canadian Ambassador's remarks on signing it, the first cultural treaty of Canada with any nation—was signed on May 24, 1944 at Itamaraty.²⁴ It provided (1) for the exchange of governmental and botanical publications, both books and periodicals, and (2) for encouragement of and arrangements for art exhibitions, concerts, lectures, motion pictures, and radio programs, and all other cultural interchange of that nature between Brazil and Canada.

During the first six months of 1945 the Brazilian Government granted numerous scholarships to citizens of other American Republics for study in Brazil in the fields of tropical medicine, mining engineering, architecture, electro-techniques, industrial chemistry, public administration, nursing, and agronomy. A number of scholarship grants were made also to army officers of neighboring countries, and in 1944 and 1945 invitations extended by the Brazilian Government for journalists' tours of Brazil were accepted by press representatives from all sections of the Americas.

Gazeta de Noticias, a leading daily of Rio de Janeiro, summarized the benefits of the cultural relations program in an editorial that concluded:

In truth, this great movement for better mutual understanding among the cultures of the American peoples, promoted by the decided support of the Governments, has as its objective the will for a better world: an objective which, we believe, could never be attained through mere interplay of commercial interests and reciprocal material relations if these, on both sides, were not supported and upheld by that stronger and more enduring foundation that may well be called the spiritual value.²⁵

Decree No. 12,343 of May 5, 1943 assigns the following responsibilities to the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Foreign Office: The study of questions of intellectual cooperation, especially those relating to literary, artistic, and scientific interchange between Brazil and foreign countries; representation of the Foreign Office, in the person of the Chief of the Division, on the Brazilian Commission of Intellectual Cooperation; gathering data and information relating to Brazilian culture, for publicizing it abroad; increasing the intellectual interchange with foreign cultural centers; arrangement of international acts on matters relating to cultural cooperation; preparation of explanatory material concerning the purpose of these acts, and attention to meas-

ures that would make them effective; organization of lists of Brazilian intellectuals and of Brazilian cultural associations, and of like institutes abroad that interest themselves in Brazilian affairs; organization of collections of Brazilian books for presentation to foreign universities and cultural institutes; interchange of professors and students of Brazilian universities and other teaching centers with those in foreign countries; creation and award of scholarship grants; the organization of conferences of a cultural character to be held at Itamaraty Palace; and publicity about the intellectual movement between Brazil and foreign countries.²⁸

The President of Brazil, in accordance with the terms of the Convention of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, issued a decree on June 13, 1946 creating a Brazil Institute of Education, Science, and Culture, with a director and counselor to be elected for a general assembly composed of twenty delegates from the Government and from other educational, scientific, and cultural groups.

IV. MEXICO: FUSION OF CULTURES

THE Mexican program of cultural relations with other countries is primarily an affirmation of Mexican personality. In art, music, literature, education, and social legislation alike the Mexican stamp is characteristic, distinctive, at every point a profoundly conscious fusion of indigenous and transoceanic elements into something new, something Mexican.

After the 1917 Revolution, the first objective of the Government's cultural program—still one of its main objectives—was to give the masses of the Mexican people themselves an intensified awareness of their own culture and its historic implications. The emphasis was and is as much on the Indian elements as on the Hispanic.

While the Mexican intellectual has traditionally looked to Paris as the City of Light, the official international cultural program of Mexico has been carried on most extensively with the other Hispanic American Republics. While always emphasizing the national characteristics of Mexican culture, it at first stressed particularly also those things held in common as Ibero American. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the stress bore rather on what is American, held in common with the other Americas. The President's annual report to the Mexican Congress for 1922-24 included the following statement:

The Department of Publicity [Departamento de Publicidad] composed of the Sections of Publications, Press and Information, and the Photographic Studio, replace the old and deficient Section of Information and Publicity and effort will be made to endow it with the means it needs for carrying out the plans of the Executive in extending and strongly intensifying knowledge of Mexico abroad. This Department, soon to be strengthened by a printing press, has begun its work by resuming publication of the Bulletin of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs and sending to our Consulates and Legations copious information that enables them to keep in touch with the national life and to give exact and timely answers to inquirers. Daily bulletins by mail and cable, in different languages, with the legal dispositions—among other news items—from the Government's different dependencies; maps and official publications; magazines; books by Mexican authors or books about Mexico that show political, economic or cultural progress: all these are sent the Consulates and Legations not only for their own information but also for distribution to libraries, universities, societies, and interested individuals, as are likewise photographs and motion picture films portraying the national scene.

With regard to the important functions entrusted to this Department, I take satisfaction in pointing out the favorable change

of attitude toward Mexico latterly to be noted in the foreign press—above all, in the United States which in this respect has always served as the most abundant source of world news—and the wholesome effects of the Executive's recent prohibition of the entry into the country of pictures produced abroad which persist in their baleful intent of blackening the good name of Mexico by presenting its citizens as evildoers of the worst type and the country itself as uncouth and uncivilized.²⁷

The presidential report on the fiscal year 1924–25 chalked up progress in the following terms:

The Department of Publicity, encharged with furthering and giving orientation to the efforts of our consular and diplomatic services in creating abroad a just concept of our country, have been increasing by every means at their command the widespread flow of information that will take the truth about Mexico to every quarter. At the same time, through an efficient interchange of news and data, it has been possible to ascertain what are the places most in need of ample information correcting erroneous views spread in foreign countries through ignorance or malice.

By a system of concentration of official informative material, during the year covered by this report [July 1, 1923–June 30, 1924] 230,000 packages have been sent out containing books, pamphlets, newspapers, etc.

Furthermore, for the purpose of distributing them to the public, to libraries, to scientific and literary societies, universities, etc. principally in foreign countries, special publications have been printed, historical, bibliographical, and informative as regards the resources and development of Mexico with emphasis on industrial and mercantile opportunities and the laws guaranteeing their prosperity.

In order to achieve daily contact with our foreign service, 300,000 words have been cabled and two series of bulletins issued, some for special purposes and others periodical in character.

With the cooperation of the Ministry of Education and of the

philanthropic and mutual aid centers organized by Mexicans abroad, ample publicity has been initiated, among numerous fellow-citizens, principally in the United States, to keep the homeland fresh in their minds. These efforts take many diverse forms, and the results can be seen, so that they will be intensified as the condition of the Exchequer permits.

The several publications of the Ministry have been issued regularly. Among these, the Mexican Diplomatic Historic Archive—*Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*—has already published fifteen important volumes. This work has been amplified, in accordance with the power vested in my office, by publication of a series of Mexican bibliographical monographs that will serve to make known abroad the importance of and the sources of research for our cultural production. Similarly, editions are being made of works that contain the most important information about our country and can therefore serve as basis for adequate acquaintance with Mexico on the part of other countries.²⁸

At the present time, Mexican "cultural embassies" are almost continually on tour throughout the Americas, acquainting all peoples of the hemisphere with the Mexican way of life and with Mexican achievement in the arts and the sciences. The Mexican Government also issues and distributes around the globe periodicals, pamphlets, and books as progress reports on Mexican accomplishment. The Ministry of Education, for example, in 1944 inaugurated publication of a series of Hispanic American classics, in editions of 25,000, twenty thousand copies of each title for gratuitous distribution at home and abroad, and the remaining 5,000 for sale at a nominal sum. In 1941 the International Press Service Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began publishing a series of cultural pamphlets. President Avila Camacho, Foreign Minister Padilla, Minister of Education (at this writing, Foreign Minister) Torres Bodet, and, from across the Río Grande, Henry Wallace, at that time

Vice President, were among the first authors represented in the series.

Contributory to this program also is the work of the Mexican Commission of Intellectual Cooperation, which, though inaugurated as an affiliate to the Commission of the same name of the League of Nations and to the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Paris, has functioned from the first under the Ministry of Education of Mexico. The bulletin on *Comisión Mexicana de Cooperación Intelectual: Organización y Trabajo*, published in Mexico City in 1937 under imprint of the Ministry of Education, states specifically that since its creation in 1931, the Mexican Commission of Intellectual Cooperation has been supported solely by funds assigned to it by the Mexican Government. The fundamental purpose of the Mexican Commission is "both national and international in character," being "to coordinate the diverse intellectual manifestations of the Mexican medium with similar activities abroad in order to obtain the utmost progress in science and art."

The scope of the Mexican Government's program of cultural relations is indicated by an examination of that part of it which deals with art. Mexico was the first American Government to send a loan exhibition of the national art on tour throughout the United States; a precedent established in 1936 with the travelling Exhibition of Contemporary Mexican Art, which included both painting and sculpture.²⁹ In 1941, when the Mexican people donated a public school building to the town of Chillán, Chile, whose own school had been destroyed by an earthquake, the Mexican Government sent David Alfaro Siqueiros to decorate the building with appropriate murals.³⁰ In a press interview at Bogotá in 1944 the Mexican Ambassador announced the gift by the Mexican Government to Colombia of a fresco to be painted by Clemente Orozco.³¹ In 1945 President Avila Camacho commis-

sioned a statue of the Mexican patriot José María Morelos, to be erected in a public plaza at Caracas, Venezuela.³²

The attitude of Mexico, the Caracas daily *El Heraldo* had commented some time previously, "reminds our Government of the fact that culture is the only lasting bond of unity."³³

The diversity of the "cultural embassies" sent out by the Mexican Government is shown by three that toured Central and South America simultaneously, but separately, in 1944: Gonzalo Salud Garudo, agricultural technician, visitor to experimental stations, model farms and agricultural schools;³⁴ General Juan F. Azcárate, aeronautical engineer, graduate of New York University, former Chief of Military Aviation in the Mexican Army, and Minister to Germany who had suffered internment at the beginning of the war;³⁵ and Mercedes Caraza, Mexican soprano. "Sponsored by President Avila Camacho and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Education, Defense and the Navy," Señorita Caraza inaugurated her series of concerts in each capital with a special concert honoring the President of the country, in the name of the President of Mexico and under auspices of the Mexican Embassy.³⁶

El Tiempo, a leading newspaper of Montevideo, Uruguay, reckoned up editorially the value of this aspect of the Mexican cultural program in the following terms:

The Government of the United States of Mexico . . . has decided to send to all the countries of America cultural embassies that reflect under innumerable aspects the great nation north of us. Thus, educational experts . . . painters, and plastic artists . . . poets and essayists . . . actors in motion pictures and from the Mexican national theatre . . . men of science and research workers . . . all go out in every direction to the twenty sister Republics, revealing the Mexico of today. . . . The Cuban

Government is taking the same attitude. . . . Dr. Grau San Martín . . . declared a week ago in Philadelphia that his international policy would be to intensify the sending out of intellectual embassies to make Cuba better known abroad. . . . America needs to know America. The desire must be made reality.³⁷

In an interview given the *New York Times* in March, 1944, Francisco Serrano Méndez, Coordinator of Artistic Affairs for the Mexican Government, explained the project of that Government, through the Ministry of Education, of developing "a vast interchange of artists." "We hope," Señor Serrano Méndez said, "that the program will stimulate native talent as well as bring culture of an international character to our people."³⁸ The program for this particular project, as financed by the Mexican Government, included arrangements with Leopold Stokowski to direct the Mexican Symphony Orchestra in a series of eight concerts; with Leonid Massine to direct the Mexican National School of Dancing, including production of a native ballet; and for reciprocal appearances of Mexican and United States opera singers, ballet dancers, and actors. The program had been initiated earlier in 1944 by the French actor, Louis Junet, with a group of plays, and the Russian pianist, George Chavchavadze, with a series of concerts.³⁹

The Mexican Government is liberal in awards of scholarships to students from other American Republics and, as has been indicated, is no less liberal in distribution of books and periodicals. Among regularly issued publications sent "free upon request" are the monthly news bulletin of the Foreign Office, published in English as *Mexico News* and in Spanish as *Noticias de México*; a fortnightly bulletin of "information for abroad," also issued by the Foreign Office, *Desde México*; and *El Maestro Mexicano*, an illustrated monthly published by the Ministry of Education.

Typical of the cultural agreements that Mexico is making

with other American Republics is the Mexican-Venezuelan Cultural Convention signed at the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Mexico on July 25, 1946, by the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chargé of the Venezuelan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Convention contains the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The High Contracting Parties will favor and aid the transfer from one to the other country of duly qualified intellectuals whose travels have as their object some cultural or scientific mission.

ARTICLE II. Each High Contracting Party will consider the possibility of establishing the number of scholarships which it may judge convenient in favor of its nationals, so that they may study or perfect their studies in the educational Institutes and Organisms of specialization of the Party.

The respective travel expenses will be the affair of the Party which designates the scholarship holders referred to in the present Article.

ARTICLE III. It is understood that the advantages stipulated in the preceding Article will favor exclusively those students who have by birth the nationality of the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE IV. The Government of Mexico will proceed to create a section of Venezuelan books in the Library which to this end may be chosen by the Ministry of Public Education of Mexico. The Government of Venezuela will create in the National Library of Caracas an analogous special section for Mexican books.

ARTICLE V. The High Contracting Parties will favor the exchange of works of the respective national authors and will provide the necessary means to hold periodical expositions of books of both countries.

ARTICLE VI. The High Contracting Parties will stimulate the exchange of publications and documents capable of contribut-

ing to the better information of their investigators and their teachers, and each one of them will exert itself so that in its schools due attention will be given to reciprocal knowledge of history, of national heroes, and of the most representative values in the field of sciences, arts and letters.

ARTICLE VII. The High Contracting Parties will further, under the conditions which may be agreed upon in each case, the exchange of reproductions of those objects or documents which exist in their Museums and which offer special interest for one of them.

ARTICLE VIII. The High Contracting Parties will favor the exchange of informational films on the cultural, economic and social evolution of both countries, and through their Ministries of Education will distribute in their scholastic establishments those which, in their judgment, can serve in the most effective manner the better understanding of the two peoples.

The Summer School of the National University of Mexico was established in 1920 "to offer foreigners an opportunity to study the language, history, art and social conditions of Mexico." The state universities of Michigan, New Mexico, and Texas, with cooperation of the Department of State of the United States, in 1945 inaugurated a "Field School in collaboration with the School of Philosophy and Letters and the Summer School for Foreign Students of the University of Mexico." ⁴⁰

El Colegio de México, an educational foundation of international cultural significance, is carried on as a cooperative undertaking of the Mexican Government, the National University of Mexico, the Bank of Mexico, the non-profit publishing house Fondo de Cultura Económica, and La Casa de España. La Casa de España was organized as a private agency in 1938 to assist refugee Spanish Republican intellectuals. It received an annual subsidy from the Mexican Government of 800,000 pesos, and considerable funds from

private sources, and with its developing influence and prestige its program of research, translation, and publication expanded steadily. Writers, educators, and scholars, both Mexican and foreign-born—the latter usually, though not always, Spanish—are given fellowships or grants-in-aid for research; professorships and lectureships are established; and works of literary and scientific merit published. The cooperating agencies are represented in the policy-making body of El Colegio de México, a yearly assembly. The director of the Colegio is Alfonso Reyes, diplomat and author who has long been recognized internationally as pre-eminent in Hispanic American letters.⁴¹

Democracy's ancient dream of cooperation among peoples, Reyes has said, cannot be achieved haphazardly—"Chance is our enemy"—but must be calculated and organized, not according to a rigid blueprint but in accordance with "a flexible plan . . . inspired at once in historic experience, scientific realities, and also in the realities of human feeling. . . . The work of culture consists in delving and canalizing the earth for the common good. Hence culture is, in essence, cooperative coordination: bridges and tunnels, highways, means of locomotion, as well as the sharing and the distribution of economic or intellectual fruits."⁴²

*The United States: Latecomer
in the Field*



CULTURAL cooperation with other countries as an official government program was inaugurated by the United States in 1938. Two significant steps were taken in that year. At President Roosevelt's suggestion, the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation was organized to examine methods of cooperating with the other American Republics and prepare a program for making "closer and more efficient" the relationships between them and the United States; and a Division of Cultural Relations was created within the Department of State itself, for the purpose of "encouraging and strengthening cultural relations and intellectual cooperation between the United States and other countries."¹

The Departmental Order of July 27, 1938 creating the Division of Cultural Relations charged it with the Department of State's official international activities of cultural intent, "embracing the exchange of professors, teachers, and students; cooperation in the field of music, art, literature and other intellectual and cultural attainments; the formulation and distribution of libraries of representative works of the United States and suitable translations thereof; the participation by this Government in international radio broad-

casts; encouragement of a closer relationship between unofficial organizations of this and of foreign Governments engaged in cultural and intellectual activities; and, generally, the dissemination abroad of the representative intellectual and cultural works of the United States and the improvement and broadening of the scope of our cultural relations with other countries."

"In fulfilling its functions"—we are quoting the Departmental Order—"the Division of Cultural Relations will direct the conduct of exhaustive studies and have responsibility for the elaboration and the carrying into effect of a comprehensive and coordinated plan of activity in this country for the strengthening of international intellectual and cultural relations; it will assist in the preparation and interpretation of treaties in this field; it will supervise the formulation of regulations and procedure necessary for the fulfillment of obligations under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations and other treaties and conventions relating to cultural relations to which the United States may have become a party; it will draft or review correspondence with foreign Governments, American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, and all other correspondence pertaining to these activities; it will collaborate with the Office of Education and other Government departments and agencies, the National Committee on Inter-American Intellectual Cooperation, other educational and cultural organizations and institutions, and Foreign Missions in Washington.

"The Division of Cultural Relations will function under the general supervision of the Under Secretary of State and in close cooperation with the geographical divisions." ²

At its inception, and until 1942, this cultural program had three principal objectives: the administration of travel grants; the carrying out of the provisions of the Buenos Aires Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cul-

tural Relations; and the organization of a system of interchange of educational motion pictures.³ The travel grants fell into four categories: grants to leaders of thought and opinion, whether in literature, journalism, science or the arts, in the other American Republics, whose visit to the United States would help bring about increased understanding and friendship; and, reciprocally, grants to similarly influential United States citizens for travel in the sister republics; grants to professors and students coming to the United States from other American Republics, and vice versa; and grants for advisory committees. These last were to defray expenses of "the members of the committees, whose appointment was approved by the President under authority granted him by Congress, to advise the Department of State in its program of cultural relations as administered by the Division of Cultural Relations."⁴

The Buenos Aires Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, referred to above, signed by the United States and approved by the Congress in 1937, provides for the annual exchange of one professor and of two teachers or graduate students by the United States and each of the other American Republics which have ratified this instrument.⁵

With growth of the cultural program, international exchange of persons has increased in numbers and geographical scope. The Department of State facilitates "the exchange of advanced university students and industrial trainees, visiting professors and specialists. It also helps to put private organizations working in the international field in touch with comparable organizations in other countries and collects information on government or privately sponsored cultural movements needed as a background for the development of a cultural relations program." Further, to quote Ruth McMurtry's statement in the *News Bulletin* of the Institute of International Education, May 1, 1946, it "carries on a program which facilitates and supplements the interchanges of

persons undertaken by representative institutions and organizations. It also encourages and facilitates many privately sponsored interchanges. Financial aid has been forthcoming, especially for exchanges within the Western Hemisphere since the original program authorized by the Congress was one of cultural relations with the other American Republics. During the war, however, as an emergency measure, it was extended to the Near and the Far East with funds from the President's Emergency Fund. Enabling legislation to extend the program to the Eastern Hemisphere is now [1946] before the Congress.

"The Specialists and Professors Branch of the Division awards a certain number of grants to competent specialists and distinguished leaders—both American and foreign—in many fields including the arts, sciences and professions, technology and public welfare. The grants are given for research or study abroad, for professorships in appropriate institutions, for surveys or for lectureships and for consultative or advisory services in connection with projects, which from the viewpoint of the Department, will further cultural relations between the U. S. and the foreign country concerned. The services of U. S. specialists and professors traveling abroad under the program are requested by the foreign governments which often pay part of the expense involved. During the year 1945-46 the grants for such interchanges between the U. S. and the other American Republics numbered 86. There were 42 grants for or similar interchanges between the U. S. and the Far East, and 31 between the Near East and the U. S.

"In addition to the grants the Department offers other services to projects of the same type sponsored by non-governmental agencies and to those undertaken by other governments and it has developed close relations with a large number of American institutions and agencies interested in them."

As regards motion pictures, the Department encouraged

"the production and interchange of informative educational motion pictures, particularly with the American republics, through conferences with motion picture producers and distributors of non-amusement films," and facilitated and aided "the display abroad of approved United States films, and the display in the United States of approved foreign films." ⁶

With the outbreak of war in 1941 the cultural program, envisaged and inaugurated for peacetime, was re-examined critically within the Department with regard to its value during the period of conflict. Consultation "led to agreement on the importance of maintaining in wartime the fundamental objectives of the cultural relations program; i.e., the development of that reciprocal understanding essential to harmonious political relationships and to the most effective cooperation in defense of common interests." ⁷ Explicit warning was given that "any radical reorientation of the program at this time, or any slackening of its activities, would undo much of the results gained so far, and later make it difficult to resume the program on lines successfully followed in peacetime." ⁸

Some readjustment in planning was of course necessary. The drafting of young men for the armed services, for instance, checked during the war the southward current of student exchange. The bare figures show this: From 1939 to 1946, 800 students and 443 specialists from the other American Republics came to the United States for college and university courses, but only 40 United States students and 49 specialists pursued corresponding courses in institutions of learning in the other Americas. However, 133 professors from the United States taught courses in universities of the other Republics, while 25 professors from those universities taught in the United States. ⁹

On August 16, 1940, by order of the Council of National Defense a Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations

between the American Republics (later to be known as the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs), under the Council of National Defense, had been appointed by President Roosevelt. The general range of the Coordinator's responsibility "included the area of activities of the Division of Cultural Relations, and in addition extended over other fields, such as commercial relations and 'communications,' covering the press and amusement motion pictures (Hollywood)." The Coordinator was "charged with the formulation and the execution of a program in cooperation with the State Department which, by effective use of governmental and private facilities in such fields as the arts and sciences, education and travel, the radio, the press, and the cinema will further national defense and strengthen the bonds between the nations of the Western Hemisphere."¹⁰ The Coordinator's program in brief was to direct activities toward ends "that would be immediately effective in the world crisis," while the cultural program of the Department of State "stressed the importance of long-term results, recognizing that the building of confidence and understanding would necessarily take time. It was felt, therefore, that both phases of the work should go forward side by side, through the maintenance of close liaison and effective cooperation."¹¹

From the beginning, the work of the Division of Cultural Relations had been "based upon the principle that sound and enduring international cooperation, economic as well as political, must be developed on a broad foundation of understanding between peoples."¹² The crisis of war emphasized and made urgent "the necessity of an effective solidarity . . . of mind and spirit, of aim and effort, as well as of material interests"; so that the Division of Cultural Relations, "created in peacetime to further that solidarity on a long-term basis," resolved to become "an active factor in upbuilding democratic morale in this hemisphere."¹³

For the first years of its existence, the Division's program,

based largely upon an act of Congress entitled "An Act to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics," was carried out in the Western Hemisphere only. Extended to China in January, 1942 through an allocation from the President's Emergency Fund as a war-time measure, the program in its Far Eastern aspects consisted largely of sending out from the United States technical experts requested by the Chinese Government, exchanging professors and awarding Chinese students travel grants for study in the United States, and supplying microfilm reproductions of technical and scholarly journals requested by Chinese universities.¹⁴

Shortly thereafter, in July, 1943, the program was extended in part to the Near East and to Africa, with another allocation from the President's Emergency Fund. The emphasis in that area was on "strengthening American-founded schools and hospitals in carrying on extension services, especially projects in engineering, public health and agriculture. Grants-in-aid were given to American institutions in Turkey, Syria, and Liberia. Teachers were sent to Afghanistan at that Government's request. Books and other cultural materials were shipped to educational centers in these countries and in Iran, Ethiopia and Morocco."¹⁵

Early in the program, in August, 1941, the Department of State had created in embassies and legations of the United States in other American Republics the post of Cultural Relations Officer—the title "Cultural Relations Attaché" came into use two years later—placing upon these officers considerable responsibility "for the development and maintenance of friendly relations with cultural leaders in the countries in which they are stationed."¹⁶ A Cultural Relations Officer's primary function was defined as assisting the head of the diplomatic mission in matters of cultural significance and keeping the Department at Washington fully informed of local developments in the cultural field.¹⁷ The

General Advisory Committee of the Department of State agreed on the following as prime qualifications for Cultural Relations Officers:

. . . they should have a suitable personality that would assure their ability to work effectively with the people of the country in which they may be located; they should have broad intellectual and cultural interests, which should be capable of understanding and appreciating matters of which they may not have specialized knowledge; they should have constructive imagination and enthusiasm; their point of view should be that of a mature, educated person, and they should have good judgment and common sense. It may be assumed that they have a fluent command of the language of the country to which they are sent, but they should be willing to endeavor to learn to use the language with distinction, as well as with readiness.¹⁸

By July, 1946, Cultural Relations Officers had been appointed to diplomatic missions in each of the other American Republics and also in Belgium, China, England, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey. As a group, they represent up to the present writing diverse specializations—authorship, teaching, archeology, anthropology, social economics, mathematics, journalism, publishing, library science, motion picture production, and other government service. When the post had been four years established, long enough to afford bases for evaluation, Archibald MacLeish, then Assistant Secretary of State, declared of the Cultural Relations Attachés that theirs was “an absolutely essential job,” through exchange of ideas and skills and knowledge to help the peoples of the world to “get the feel of each other.”¹⁹ One of the most brilliantly successful of the Cultural Relations Attachés summarized his chief activities as liaison, administration, reporting, clerical work, and creative contacts.²⁰

At the beginning of 1942 the Division of Cultural Relations had widened its scope to extend aid to those cultural centers in the other American Republics generally known as "United States cultural institutes" and to make gifts or loans of publications, pictures, music, radio transcriptions, or motion pictures to United States schools or libraries in the other Americas.

These United States cultural centers, founded jointly in other countries by a group of citizens of the country where they were established and citizens of the United States resident there, have served as meeting places for both formal and informal gatherings and as "information hubs [aiding] in the creation of an enlightened and cordial public opinion" of the United States. "During the war eight centers were in existence in major capitals; eight more were organized in 1942 and six in 1943 and 1944. During 1945 urgent requests from the field resulted in the [cultural centers] program's being expanded."²¹ The chief activity of these centers is the teaching of English to nationals and of the language of the country to resident United States citizens. Classes in United States history and literature also prove popular. "Total student enrollment has increased from 12,000 in July 1943 to 17,000 in July 1944 and to 20,000 in July 1945."²² One result of the work of the cultural centers has been publication and wide use of several language texts evolving from practical experience in field-teaching.

Closely allied to the official encouragement given cultural centers has been the aid to libraries of United States books in other countries. The first of these to be established with cooperation of the government program of cultural relations was the Benjamin Franklin Library in Mexico. As of July 1, 1946 the Department of State maintained twenty-seven cultural centers in Latin America and about seventy libraries throughout the rest of the world. "These libraries and cultural institutes [or centers] make available books, periodi-

cals, documents, music recordings, and art reproductions to foreign officials, students, organizations and others interested in American developments and thought. The demand for these books and periodicals is hard to exaggerate. In one month, 17,000 persons visited the library in Paris; 4,500 in Sidney; almost 10,000 in Bombay; and over 5,000 in Mexico City. The cultural institutes in the American Republics have had a longer history, and they, too, show the keen interest other peoples have in learning more about this country. In 1945, registered members in all cultural institutes totaled 10,000; students enrolled for classes in English numbered 24,500; and attendance of all types of functions ran up to over 45,000.”²³

The “American schools” in the other American Republics, established by citizens of the United States, have proved “valuable instruments for teaching English and for arousing interest in the United States and its educational institutions. . . . Prior to 1941 relatively little thought and no aid had been given them by agencies of [the United States] Government. . . . Such schools are desired especially by parents whose children are preparing for study in colleges and universities of the United States.”²⁴ By July, 1946, approximately three hundred “American schools” were operating in other American Republics; “and, with funds obtained by the Department of State, a special office . . . set up in the office of the American Council on Education has given grants . . . in the past year to about 45 American schools and has provided material advice and assistance to about two hundred other American schools in Latin America. Those schools enroll at the present time [1946] over 50,000 nationals of those various countries.”²⁵

The relatively high price of books published in the United States, together with the language factor, has hindered their distribution abroad. “In mid-1942 the United States Government decided to make better known the writings of its

citizens. The Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs extended a grant-in-aid of \$140,000 to the American Library Association for the distribution of books in English to representative libraries in the other American republics. This project [was] . . . extended by an additional grant from the Department of State. . . . The American Library Association laid down some basic principles for distribution: first, that all books must be chosen by the foreign libraries [as a preliminary step, the Association compiled a selected list of five hundred such libraries in the other American Republics] and not by the United States Government; second, that all books distributed must be written by United States citizens and printed in English. . . . By the close of 1943 . . . many thousands of books had been shipped to Central and South America."

"In 1939, when the Director of the National Library at Bogotá, Colombia, was notified of his assignment to the Colombian Embassy in Washington, he sought to discover in his library a history of the United States in Spanish which would provide his wife with some information on this country. The only book available dealt with the seventeenth century."²⁶ In 1941, after an official inspection tour of federal activities of the United States in South and Central America, the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives made the following comment:

There is undoubtedly a manifest desire on the part of the citizens of Latin America to know more about the United States, and it behooves us to put our best foot forward in supplying them this information through authoritative and carefully selected sources. One example should serve to indicate the lack of facilities descriptive of American life. . . . Up until the calendar year 1940 there was not a single history book of the United States printed in Portuguese in any public library in the entire nation of Brazil. Here was a situation of a country containing

approximately 44,000,000 citizens (nearly half the total population of South America) without one single book descriptive of our history translated into their language and available through public library facilities. It is not difficult to see, therefore, why, in the past, there has been so little understanding between ourselves and the countries to the south of us. The committee is definitely impressed with the need for having translations made of many of our important works of biography, history, science, literature, etc., as it is through these media we will be able to achieve the respect and appreciation, one nation for the other, for which we hope so fervently.²⁷

In 1941 the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, through the American Council of Learned Societies, "began to stimulate the translation of United States books into Spanish and Portuguese and the translation of books from those languages into English. When this project was transferred to the Department of State in July 1943, the Council had written contracts for 116 books. By the close of 1943, 57 of these books had been published and others were coming off the press each month. Government assistance is usually confined to a payment for translation rights or the purchase of a certain number of copies of each book in lieu of a translation fee. The books are then brought out by recognized publishers and distributed through commercial bookstores without Government responsibility for profit or loss. The books already translated or being translated into Spanish for publication in Mexico, Argentina, and Chile include American literary classics such as the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, standard technical volumes . . . and interpretative works. . . . Several outstanding successes have been reported by publishers. The standard agricultural textbook, *Methods of Plant Breeding*, by Hayes and Immer, sold more copies in Spanish during the first month after publication in Argentina than did the original English edi-

tion during an equal period after its publication in New York.”²⁸

The report already cited on the inspection tour of the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations noted especially the small number of short-wave broadcasts from the United States in 1941 as compared with those from other countries: “In the field of radio it would appear that we have been considerably remiss in keeping up with the pace set by other countries in acquainting citizens of Latin America with our national plans, procedures, purposes, culture, background and related facts. In a large metropolitan city of one country visited by the committee, the Free French and the Japanese have more time on the air per week than we do. The Germans broadcast on the radio in the same city an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day. We consume $\frac{1}{2}$ hour of radio time per week.”²⁹ After Pearl Harbor the Department of State co-operated with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and with the newly created Office of War Information to improve the number and quality of United States short-wave broadcasts. By Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, the Motion Picture and Radio Division was created in the Department of State, with responsibility for: “(a) liaison between the Department and other departments and agencies, particularly the Office of War Information, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, War Department, and Office of Censorship, in matters involved in the dissemination abroad, through the media of motion pictures and radio, of information regarding the war effort; and (b) the development and execution of cultural programs through these media.” By Departmental Regulation 130.10 of December 31, 1945, the International Broadcasting Division was established in the Department’s newly created Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, and was made responsible “for the initial formulation of operational policy with respect to, and for the conduct of, the participation of

the Department in the international dissemination of information through the media of radio broadcasting." The International Motion Picture Division was created by the same order.

In 1943, the art and music activities of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs were taken over by the Department of State, as was the book and translation program, and these were incorporated with the work of the Division of Cultural Relations, the name of which was changed the following year to Science, Education, and Art Division.³⁰ By means of a grant-in-aid, the Department set up an Inter-American Office in the National Gallery of Art to develop and handle the exchange of art exhibits and materials. A similar grant-in-aid to the Library of Congress provided for distribution and exchange of music materials in the other American Republics. Beyond this, and in addition to filling specific official requests for music scores, records, art exhibits, and related information in the field of the arts, the Department "has not only encouraged initiatives of individual and private organizations in these fields, but has assisted them with information and advice by furthering contacts in this and other countries."³¹

In 1944, by another Departmental Order, the Science, Education, and Art Division became the Division of Cultural Cooperation,³² and was assigned specifically "responsibility for formulating policy and for initiating, coordinating and putting into effect programs of the Department of State designed to encourage and strengthen cultural contact, interchange, and mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and those of other nations."³³ Three basic principles were enunciated as guidance in operation of the cultural program:

- 1) This program is conducted, as far as possible, by the American people. It is a people-to-people relationship. The Govern-

ment's role is to supplement and facilitate. Wherever Government funds must be used, the Department of State tries to find a private, non-profit organization to carry on the work. Advisory committees which include representatives of many national organizations meet frequently to advise the Secretary of State on the operation of this program.

2) This program represents the entire United States Government, not merely the Department of State. Much of its operation is conducted by other Government agencies, to which the Department of State transfers the necessary funds. All Government agencies participating in the program are members of the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation. This Committee was formed at the request of Congress in 1939 to present a consolidated budget for the entire cooperation program. The agencies on this Committee participate jointly in the planning of the program, and review each other's work at the end of the year. An Assistant Secretary of State sits as Chairman of the Committee.

3) Wherever feasible, the cost of each project is shared in some degree by the other Governments involved and, if possible, by American private agencies. This is done, not primarily to reduce costs to this Government, though it accomplishes that purpose too; it is rather done because the program is one of cooperation, not a unilateral American projection of itself upon others. The Department does not believe that the United States should perform any part of this work where it is not wanted; and the best evidence that it is wanted is the willingness of the other Government to put something into it.³⁴

The Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation (a name given it in 1944) was created in 1938 as the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics. Its scope is indicated by the act of August 9, 1939 providing that "in order to render closer and more effective the relationship between the Ameri-

can republics the President of the United States is hereby authorized, subject to such appropriations as are made available for the purpose, to utilize the services of the departments, agencies and independent establishments of the Government in carrying out the reciprocal undertakings and cooperative purposes enunciated in the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and recommendations signed by all of the twenty-one republics at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1936, and at the Eighth International Conference of American States held at Lima, Peru, in 1938." In December, 1944 the secretariat of the Committee was placed in the Division of Cultural Cooperation, the Committee's twenty-eight members representing twenty agencies of the Government.³⁵

Many government agencies have carried out mutually beneficial cooperative international projects, some of them involving the exchange service of government officials. The following such cooperative projects were among those successfully operated in 1946 with aid from the Interdepartmental Committee: agricultural experiment stations in Guatemala and Peru "where research was being done by Department of Agriculture scientists on fibers, insecticides, medicinals, and other tropical products which are not grown in the United States"; research on rubber cultivation in Colombia; radiosonde weather stations in the Caribbean area which serve as hurricane warning stations; and medical projects in many countries helping in control of epidemics of disease.³⁶

Public Law 584, the "Fulbright Bill," originally introduced by Senator Fulbright and passed by the Seventy-Ninth Congress, "authorizes the use as scholarships, of part of the foreign exchange made available from the sale of surplus property. Recent lend-lease settlements have included clauses which would permit payment for surplus war prop-

erty into educational funds. . . . Public Law 584 . . . makes it possible for the United States to accept credits in the currencies of foreign countries which can then be used within those countries to finance the study of American students abroad, to send specialists abroad, and to send visiting professors. . . . That bill states that we may receive a maximum of \$20,000,000 per country and that we may not spend more than a million dollars a year in these various activities." (The quotation is from the Harris Memorial Foundation Lecture delivered by Kenneth Holland of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs in July, 1946.)

By Executive Order of August 31, 1945 President Truman abolished the Office of Inter-American Affairs (formerly the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs) and the Office of War Information which for more than three years had "directed a program of psychological warfare against the enemy and at the same time sought to tell both allies and neutrals about America's war efforts and its war aims."³⁷ In a statement accompanying the order, the President, declaring that "the nature of present day foreign relations makes it essential for the United States to maintain informational activities abroad as an integral part of the conduct of our foreign affairs," consolidated until January 1, 1946 the functions of those two war agencies "which are performed abroad or which consist of or are concerned with informing the people of other nations about any matter in which the United States has an interest."

During the prescribed transition period of four months, the inherited information functions of the Interim Information Service were "drastically reduced and reshaped to suit peacetime needs. The former OWI's cable and wireless service of news, features, and background materials to outposts overseas was cut, for instance, to one-sixth of its wartime wordage. The production of booklets for overseas distribution was slowed down, and the translating and printing of

American books for sale overseas was halted. Radio activities of the former OWI and OIAA in New York and San Francisco were merged and reduced. Several magazines distributed abroad were discontinued. . . . Personnel was reduced accordingly. . . . At the close of business on December 31, 1945 the Interim Information Service was abolished and its remaining functions were absorbed by a new organization within the State Department, designed to integrate all cultural and informational activities of the Government abroad: the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC)."⁸⁸

That entity by departmental regulation grouped under "one office and director . . . a number of previously scattered cultural and informational activities of the Government abroad."⁸⁹ These included, besides OWI and OIAA, those functions of the Special Assistant to the Secretary for Press Relations relating to the preparation and issuance of a daily radio bulletin for Foreign Service officers; the Division of International Information of the Office of Public Affairs; the Division of Cultural Cooperation of Office of Public Affairs; and the Secretariat of the Interdepartmental Committee.

The Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) was assigned the following responsibilities:

"The promotion among foreign peoples of a better understanding of the aims, policies and institutions of the United States.

"The coordination of policy and action for programs of the United States in the field of international information and cultural affairs.

"The dissemination abroad of information about the United States through all appropriate media.

"The promotion of freedom of information among peoples.

"The furtherance of the international exchange of persons, knowledge and skills.

"The integration with over-all United States foreign policy of the programs and activities of other federal agencies, involving international interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills." ⁴⁰

The new Office was composed of five Area Divisions: Europe, Near East and Africa, Far East, American Republics, and Occupied Areas; and five Operational Divisions: Libraries and Institutes, Exchange of Persons, Press and Publications, Radio, and Motion Pictures.

"The work of OIC can be reduced . . . to the simplest terms in something like these words. The task is to provide an instrument to aid foreign peoples in understanding America, in understanding our foreign policy and the background of our foreign policy, in understanding American aims and objectives, and to extend mutual understanding by furthering contact between peoples. The problems of OIC becoming more and more apparent are those created by the artificial barriers largely imposed by Governments to prevent free exchange of ideas. For even 'freedom of information,' a term or slogan which we frequently use, is still unknown to millions of people, perhaps half the population of this globe, who are still illiterate. It is also unknown, I fear, in many other parts of the world where freedom of speech and expression are blocked by man-made rules and barriers. . . . The central basic problem with which we have been attempting to deal during these past few months [1946] is the problem which revolves around removing the obstacles to freedom of speech and expression, and of reaching the minds of men." ⁴¹

The most immediate necessity facing the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs for its first year, 1946, was that of integrating its various elements into its long-term program. That program was charted by Assistant Secretary of State William Benton, from the beginning, along eight channels: the exchange of persons, with exten-

sion from the Western Hemisphere to the rest of the world of exchange projects involving "students, teachers, scholars, scientists, and other experts with special knowledge and skills"; the maintenance and servicing of American libraries of information in sixty countries abroad; continuance and expansion of the daily radio bulletin for United States diplomatic missions; a mail service of textual, documentary and related background material for the information of foreign service officers and outside distribution when desired; preparation of photo exhibits and film strips depicting the way of life of the United States, its manners, ideas, and accomplishment; continued distribution in the Soviet Union of the Russian-language periodical, *Amerika*, highly popular there; acquiring from private sources and when necessary editing and scoring in foreign languages newsreels and documentary films about the United States for showing abroad; and operation of a practically world-wide service of short-wave broadcasting.⁴²

For carrying out the cultural relations outlined in this chapter, the Department of State's expenditures have been moderate in comparison with those of other countries for similar purposes, as shown elsewhere in these pages, and with those allotted to cultural and informational programs by war agencies of the United States. Total funds available for the Department's cultural relations program during the first four years of functioning are shown by the following table:⁴³

1940-41	Hemisphere only	\$109,000
1941-42	Hemisphere and China	347,000
1942-43	Hemisphere and China	1,234,000
1943-44	Hemisphere, China, and Near East	2,871,000
1944-45	Hemisphere, China and Near East	3,129,000

Until the end of 1943 the Congress had made appropriations to the Department of State "only for the program with the other American republics,"⁴⁴ all the Department's cultural activities outside the hemisphere being financed from the Emergency Fund for the President. With incorporation of cultural and informational programs into the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, an increased budget became necessary. "Functions inherited by OIC from the Interim International Information Service were financed through June 30, 1946 by funds allocated for this purpose from OWI and OIAA balances. Functions inherited by OIC from established State Department components were financed through the same period by funds regularly allocated to those components for fiscal 1946 from the State Department budget."⁴⁵ The amount granted by the Seventy-ninth Congress for the 1947 program of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs is \$19,000,000. The \$19,000,000—while far greater than former appropriations for the Department of State's cultural relations program—is "in contrast to the \$61,748,912 expended by the Government during its 12 months of peak war activity in the informational and cultural affairs field."⁴⁶

Basic legislation for a peacetime information and cultural relations office was proposed in 1946 in a bill (HR 4982) introduced by Congressman Bloom and unanimously endorsed by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. This so-called "cultural relations bill" provided for the sending abroad of information about the United States; the interchange of students, professors, specialists, and other leaders of thought; the interchange of government personnel and the working out of cooperative scientific and technical projects; aid to American schools abroad; and aid in translating, adapting, and distributing American books and educational materials abroad.

Although passed by the House and the Senate Committee

on Foreign Relations, the bill failed to come up for a final vote because of the pressure of other legislation in the closing days of the session. A similar bill was presented again in 1947.

In discussing the need for a "Cultural Relations Bill," Assistant Secretary of State William Benton told a Philadelphia audience on the last day of September, 1946: "If there is any hope for the world it is that the peoples of the world, all of whom want peace, will understand each other and will be willing to tolerate differences because they understand them. . . . The time has gone when we as a nation could afford to be indifferent to our scientific, educational and cultural exports." ⁴⁷

*The Cultural Approach to World
Understanding*



AFTER the First World War, French authorities, as we have seen, in considering the future of their program of cultural relations abroad, raised the question as to "whether, when blood has ceased to flow, the struggle between nations is over; whether their influence, their respective cultures, their commerce, their language, their thought do not remain formidable weapons which in the future may decide the conflict."

As the end of the Second World War again brought this question to the fore, most nations of the world were in little doubt as to the answer. They had learned what powerful weapons their influence, their thought, their respective cultures might be either for making war or for keeping the peace. They had also learned that in order to work together in rebuilding a devastated world they must develop means better to understand one another's purpose.

With this end in view, not only were the bilateral cultural relations programs such as those described in the preceding chapters continued, but the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, a multilateral organization, was formally established in November, 1946.

Since this volume is devoted to a study of the development of bilateral programs, no full account of UNESCO and its activities belongs here, although its great importance is fully recognized. It is interesting to note, however, that the demand for such a central organization to deal with educational and cultural matters in the international field began to make itself felt early in the war. A number of groups concerned with education, both in the United States and abroad, turned their attention to the development of an international educational and cultural organization of much wider scope than the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. The desire for such a central organization stemmed from recognition of the valuable work done by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation as well as from the successful activities of numerous international educational and cultural associations, private or semi-private in character. It also reflected the need felt by the United Nations to move from the narrowly national into international fields where the future peace of the world might be furthered through over-all international organizations.

One of the groups which furthered the development of an international educational and cultural organization was the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, organized in 1942 by the British Council and the British Board of Education. The Conference included the Ministers of Education, or their representatives, of nine Allied Governments which had taken refuge in the United Kingdom during the German occupation of Europe: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and France (through the French National Committee of Liberation) and Great Britain. Regular meetings in London were held to plan for the educational rehabilitation of the European countries after the war. Although invited to become members, the United States and the U.S.S.R. limited

their participation during the first years to the sending of observers to the meetings.

The Department of State, interested in the program of the Conference of Allied Ministers, sent a United States delegation to London in April, 1944, to participate in the development of "an international program for the rebuilding of essential educational and cultural facilities of the war-torn countries in the period immediately following hostilities." It was during the meetings held in London at this time that a preliminary charter for an international organization for educational and cultural reconstruction was drafted. The U.S.S.R., however, continued to stand aloof from any active part in this international program.

In the meantime, in the United States, several private groups had been actively engaged in promoting plans for an international organization for education and cultural development. The Liaison Committee for International Education, composed of some thirty educational organizations with special interest in international education began a comprehensive study of post-war problems and organized three International Education Assemblies in which representatives of the Allied countries participated in furthering plans for an over-all international organization.

Another group was the American Association for an International Office for Education, which worked actively to develop interest in such an organization and to mobilize all available forces behind it.

In May, 1945 the Congress of the United States gave full support to United States participation in such an international organization by approving in the House a resolution introduced by Congressman Karl E. Mundt, endorsing American aid for an agency to promote both educational and cultural relations with the other nations of the world, while the Senate passed a comparable resolution introduced by Senators Fulbright and Taft.

The inclusion, among the major objectives of the United Nations as promulgated in San Francisco, of "cultural and educational cooperation" did much to assure the development of an international educational and cultural organization. In November, 1945 a conference was held in London in which the constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was framed by forty-four nations present there. Finally, in November, 1946, in Paris, after the constitution had been ratified by the Governments of more than twenty nations, UNESCO was established as one of the specialized agencies brought into relationship with the United Nations through the negotiation of an agreement. Paris was chosen as its seat.

According to the UNESCO constitution, "the purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations."

The importance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was made clear in the constitution, the preamble of which included the following essential reasons for its establishment:

. . . that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed; . . .

. . . that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust among the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; . . .

. . . that this wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations

must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern; . . . that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

A United States National Commission for UNESCO composed of one hundred members widely representative of American educational, scientific, and cultural interests and organizations held a meeting in September, 1946 to advise the United States Government on its participation in UNESCO. In transmitting to Secretary of State Byrnes the final report of the Commission, Assistant Secretary Benton stated:

The Commission received with appreciation your message urging UNESCO to help clear away the barriers of suspicion and mistrust which divide the peoples. The Commission called upon President Truman who told them that the Commission could make the 'greatest contribution in the history of the world to the welfare of the world as a whole, if it really goes at it in the spirit in which it is intended. . . .'

Mr. Benton went on to state that the Commission, in addition to advising the Government on UNESCO, had a second important role to play. "This is to act as liaison with the thousands of organizations in this country, and their millions of individual members, in carrying out the UNESCO program in the United States," he said, and added: "If UNESCO is to be in fact 'the spearhead of the United Nations,' as the Ambassador from France told the members of the Commission . . . then this grass-root activity, sponsored and promoted by the 100 members authorized for the National Commission, will help the American people achieve

specialized agencies, and the aims of American foreign policy."

As of the present writing not all of the United Nations have joined UNESCO. The following nations had become members by the middle of December, 1946: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ecuador, France, Greece, Haiti, India, Lebanon, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, the Philippine Islands, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the Union of South Africa, the United States, and Venezuela. At this time, the Soviet Union was the only one of the Great Powers which had taken no part in the development of UNESCO.

It must be borne clearly in mind, however, that the Governments of the United Nations, while increasingly supporting UNESCO, are not therefore slackening but, on the contrary, are intensifying their bilateral programs. In other words, these governments seem to feel that the success of the general multilateral program of educational, scientific, and cultural relationships will be furthered by the confluent tributary streams of the several programs of national interpretation, and that these in turn will be deepened and enriched by the comprehensive program of the United Nations as such.

During the Second World War there was another development which had an effect on the bilateral cultural programs described in the preceding chapters. Ministries or Offices of Information were established by most of the Allied Nations to carry on wartime propaganda programs. In these war agencies the primary emphasis was laid on the presentation of current or "hot" news both for home and for foreign consumption, and on all informational activities related to winning the war, including the use of psychological warfare. As

has been stated previously, no detailed description of these information programs is given in this volume. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Axis powers had long been giving strong support to propaganda programs and had developed them to a high point of efficiency. The German Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, for example, was established in 1933 and carried on a powerful program of National Socialist propaganda until the defeat of Germany. One of the tasks of both the cultural relations and the information programs furthered by the Allies was to counteract this propaganda.

When, after the cessation of hostilities, the development of peaceful relations became paramount, many Governments reviewed their cultural relations activities abroad as well as their information programs and made plans to adjust them to post-war needs. In most cases the Ministries of Information were abolished. Their work, however, had made the various Governments aware not only of the importance of information services abroad but of the need to continue them in peacetime. The problem of overlapping in the informational and cultural programs, however, especially in the use of such media as books and periodicals, the radio and the cinema, had long been a matter of concern. It was generally agreed that there was need of better coordination of the cultural and information services carried on abroad by government agencies.

The United States attempted to solve the problem by establishing in the Department of State an Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs which was responsible for the cultural and informational services of the United States abroad. Like the Office of Public Affairs, which was responsible in the United States for information services concerning international relations, the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs was placed under the As-

sistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Certain of the activities of the OWI, of the Office of Strategic Services and of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs were transferred to the Department at the time of the reorganization of the informational and cultural program which took place at the end of June, 1946, and these war agencies were disbanded.

The British decided to continue the work of the British Council under its Royal Charter for at least five years, but in order to avoid overlapping with the other services, restricted its scope to purely educational and cultural activities. The British Ministry of Information was abolished in March, 1946, and the overseas information services were centered in the Foreign Office. Among the departments concerned with overseas information created in the Foreign Office at this time was a Cultural Relations Department to deal with educational and cultural problems, to work with the British Council in matters of policy and expenditures, and to act in a liaison capacity between the British Council and the Foreign Office. This Department also furthered relations with UNESCO. Finally, for the production and procurement of materials for all ministries, a Central Office of Information was established.

Another important development of the early post-war period has been the increasing participation of several of the Ministries or Offices of Education in the cultural relations programs abroad. A recent project in which the British Ministry of Education and the United States Office of Education took an active part, for example, was the exchange of 74 British and 74 American teachers for the school year 1946-47. This exchange program also enlisted the close cooperation of the British Foreign Office and of the more important teachers associations and educational organizations in Great Britain, while in the United States the Depart-

ment of State and a number of equally representative teachers associations and educational organizations interested in international relations helped sponsor the project.

As the foregoing studies show, most nations of the world have come to the conclusion that they cannot afford to do without programs of cultural relations with other countries, since it is in the national interest to make their peoples known and understood by other peoples. "To foster that interchange in the interests of peaceful and happy international relations is rightly to be regarded as a function of the prudent state," said the report of the British Council for 1940-41. This viewpoint is held by small countries as well as large. It would be difficult to mention a land with a national consciousness which does not have a program of cultural relations abroad. Let us mention in passing some of the most interesting which have not been considered in detail in these pages.

Two deeply rooted and widespread programs examined by the authors of the present volume but not included because of considerations of space, the Italian and the Spanish, have been interestingly differentiated in orientation though similar to all others in method. The Italian cultural relations program abroad functioned largely through Dante Alighieri Societies, which, serving the double purpose of stressing Italy's traditional culture and the nationalist spirit among Italian emigrants and their descendants, finally came under Mussolini to the frank assertion, "Culture is Fascism." The Spanish cultural relations program has been aimed not so much toward individuals as toward peoples of Hispanic blood and has centered about two dates, the anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America and the Cervantes Anniversary: October 12, the Columbus Day, or as Spanish-speaking people call it, the Day of the Race; and April 21, Cervantes Day, or the Day of the Language. And those two concepts, the historical and the creative contributions of Spain, are

the foundation of the strongly integrated and financially well-supported Spanish cultural program.

A very recent program, but one that has already made itself felt abroad has been developed by Sweden to bridge the gap between that country, as one of the neutral nations, and the rest of the world. The statutes of Svenska Institutet, the Swedish Institute of Cultural Exchange with Foreign Countries, which were approved by the Swedish Government in January, 1945, state that its aim is "to support and co-ordinate propaganda about Sweden already being spread in foreign countries for the promotion of Sweden's cultural, social and economic relations abroad and also, when necessary and appropriate, to open up new branches of activity in the field of cultural exchange." From the beginning the Institute has been financed by both government and private funds. The Swedish-American News Agency in New York is given strong support and the program is being extended to the other American Republics and to the rest of the world.

One of the oldest and most outstanding of all cultural relations programs is that developed between China and other countries. As a result of the efforts of the early American missionaries in China, a Chinese Educational Mission, composed of thirty young scholars, was first sent to the United States by the Chinese Government in 1872. For three more years thirty students were sent each year, until the officials at the Court of Peking, fearing that the students might be too much influenced by republican ideals, withdrew the Mission. Many Chinese students were also sent to Germany, England, and Japan.

In 1908 the Congress of the United States authorized the return to China of the surplus of the Boxer Indemnity Funds which amounted to over \$10,000,000 in United States currency. The Chinese Government took the occasion of the remission of the American share of the 1901 Indemnity to

announce its purpose of sending one hundred students annually to the United States for four years and fifty students yearly thereafter for the period covered by the indemnity payments. In 1909 the first group of scholarship students came to the United States. After the First World War the relationships between the two countries became even closer. In addition to the students sent through the Boxer Indemnity Funds, many others came. Dr. Meng, Director of the China Institute, stated in 1945 that about ten thousand Chinese men and women had studied and done research in the United States since 1872. With the end of the war, the Chinese Government has again begun its program of exchange of students with the United States.

China has also continued to further a program of cultural relations with other countries. It should be noted here that the British, French, and Belgian Governments also devoted part of their indemnity funds to strengthening cultural relations with China.

It has long been recognized that the exchange of persons is one of the most effective means of furthering international understanding. The students who attend foreign universities, and the professors and specialists who teach or carry on research in a foreign country, have an unusual opportunity to gain the deeper understanding of a foreign people that comes only from living and working with them, from long-term relationships with them in their homeland. At the same time, each student, professor, or specialist working abroad is a representative of his own culture and interprets it to his foreign associates. While the printed word, the moving picture, and the radio are valuable media for making the life and thought of a people known and understood abroad, nothing has been found to take the place of the face-to-face relationships made possible through the exchange of persons. It is not surprising, therefore, that Governments, in developing

long-term cultural relations programs, consider such exchanges extremely productive.

Although seriously curtailed during the war, the programs of "exchange of persons" were re-established immediately after the cessation of hostilities by most Governments, as one of the most important of their activities.

The Europeans, especially, after liberation from National Socialist control, were determined to break away from all things German, and began to seek new cultural alignments. Recognizing the importance of cultural dependence among nations, Great Britain moved immediately, sending lecturers, specialists in scientific fields, musicians, and artists to the liberated countries of Europe, and bringing outstanding leaders as well as students from these countries to the United Kingdom for direct contact with British life. The Soviet Union likewise, using its cultural development to further relations with its neighbors, directed a constant flow of the best Soviet scientists, technologists, musicians, and artists to the eastern and northern European countries, with a view to winning sympathizers to the Soviet cause. Chosen representatives, largely from eastern Europe, were also welcomed to the U.S.S.R.

It should be noted that while the Soviet program abroad places much emphasis on the powers and achievements of the U.S.S.R., it is ideological rather than nationalistic in character and in its foreign propaganda is not limited by national concepts.

In spite of the interest of many other countries, including the United States, in developments within the U.S.S.R., and the effort to encourage reciprocal exchanges with that great country, it should be noted that only a relatively few persons, and those largely specialists in scientific fields, were granted visas to visit the Soviet Union during the first year and a half after the end of the war in Europe. In fact, the

chief obstacle to better understanding of the U.S.S.R. by the nations of the West has been the apparent unwillingness of the Soviet Government to permit anything like free cultural and intellectual interchange with the Western World.*

As the many programs develop, the problem of competition in the cultural field becomes increasingly serious. The French, Germans, and Italians have always competed with each other to a certain extent, especially in the Near East and in Latin America. While the British Council was set up in the first instance to combat the propaganda activities of Germany and Italy, the French program was not entirely excluded from such consideration. The fact that Great Britain recognized another need, that of making British life and thought known and appreciated abroad, did not eliminate the competitive aspect of many of the cultural activities developed. The French Provisional Government is well aware of the inroads that the cultural activities of other nations have made in areas where the influence of France was strong before her defeat, and is trying to recover her losses by very extensive activities. Russia is greatly increasing her activity in the cultural field. Spain's recent budget allows for a wide expansion in her cultural program abroad. Sweden has decided to enter the field with the Swedish Institute. The Latin American countries have instituted programs. The report of the British Council for 1944-45 rightly recognized the fact that all this activity might easily lead to "international competition in the cultural field." As the report stated, no Government can look upon the prospect of this kind of activity with equanimity. The awareness of this danger, and there are indications that the authorities of other countries as well as Great Britain are aware of it, may have some effect on their programs.

The conviction that better cultural relations lead to bet-

* See Letter from Ambassador Smith to Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, The Department of State Bulletin, March 2, 1947.

ter economic relations is held by most countries engaged in cultural activities abroad. The rapporteur for the budget of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs said in 1900: "If commerce follows the flag, it follows for even better reasons the national language." *The Times* of London stated in its first article on the Council that many countries which attached importance to their own language, traditions, and culture and to the good political and commercial relations which followed from these, had been actively engaged in programs of cultural relations with other countries for many years past. While the emphasis in the regular reports of the Council is on cultural activities, in such journals as the *War Time Bulletin* published in 1944, the British Council Survey makes it clear that the Council is an organization "whose world-wide activities are promoting good will for Britain and paving the way for British overseas trade in the post-war era."

Governments which have long engaged in furthering cultural activities abroad believe that good cultural relations lead to better political relations. Each program of "national interpretation" projects the political point of view of the nation concerned. The understanding of the political as well as of the social, religious, and economic life and thought of each people is essential if friendly relations are to be established among nations. The emphasis on the political, however, varies greatly in the different programs. The French, for example, while desirous of interpreting abroad the "true France, the France of the French Revolution," continue to devote most of their attention to the intellectual and cultural aspects of their life and thought. The British have stated that it is the non-political relations, the "popular" relations, that they wish to further in their program. The dominance of the political aspects of national life in the U.S.S.R. is strongly reflected in the Soviet program of "national interpretation" abroad. While in the development

of a cultural program with the Latin American countries the Soviet Union has seemed to subordinate the political to the cultural, in certain other countries, especially those of eastern Europe, although both the political and cultural interests of the U.S.S.R. have been fostered, the final aim has clearly been the propagation of Communist ideology abroad.

The question is often raised as to the use of propaganda in cultural relations programs. Long before the First World War the French called their activities abroad "intellectual propaganda," employing the term in the original sense, "propagation of the faith," that is, faith in French thought and in French institutions. The use of propaganda by all nations during the war, and the development thereafter of Axis propaganda, gave the word a very different connotation. The Axis Powers gave fanatical devotion to a doctrine of world supremacy which they attempted to force upon the other nations first through their powerful propaganda machine and then through armed force. The U.S.S.R., operating within an ideological framework, has sought to win sympathizers to the Soviet cause through an intensive propaganda program. The French and several other peoples, however, have continued to use the word "propaganda," meaning as they said, "moral and intellectual influence"; while the British sometimes refer to the work of the British Council as "cultural propaganda," they dislike the word "propaganda" used in this connection. Sir Malcolm Robertson, Chairman of the British Council until July, 1945, stated that the work of the Council was not propaganda in the usually accepted sense of the word. For regular propaganda the Ministry of Information was set up during the war. The viewpoint of many of the British was well expressed in *The Scotsman* of July, 1945, on occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Council's work. "Like any other body, the British Council has made its mistakes, but the public can rest assured that the Council has accomplished its high

mission with scrupulous fidelity to its mandate, and has proved that dissemination of truth is in the upshot the most effective form of propaganda."

A certain portion of the work of all the successful programs of cultural relations with foreign countries is undoubtedly propaganda, but, the writers wish to repeat, propaganda in its original sense of "propagation of the faith." The love which the French, the British, the Spanish, the Italians, the Russians, the Brazilians and all the other peoples have for their homeland, their faith in their own institutions and in their own life and thought, find expression in their cultural activities abroad. To Great Britain, war-torn and weary, the desire to develop a "basis of sensible relations between civilized peoples" by promoting the "ordinary as distinct from the political relations between the peoples of Great Britain and their neighbors" was very natural. It was characteristic of France, seriously weakened after the First World War, to decide on an intensive and effective program of intellectual expansion abroad, not only in order to spread her influence throughout Europe and the rest of the world, but also to re-establish her material prosperity, stating: "Of all our products for exportation, the finest product and that best fitted to make French genius known, admired and loved abroad is French thought."

The attitude of the recently liberated countries of Europe toward propaganda may have a definite effect on the future development of cultural relations programs. After the years of Nazi domination and the complete lack of contact with the outside world they are extremely anxious to renew their relations with foreign countries. They state clearly, however, that they want no political propaganda, which they have learned to fear and detest. What they want and need is straightforward, reliable information about recent scientific and technological advances, since the re-establishment of their economy depends on a knowledge of such develop-

ments. They also wish to learn what has happened in such fields as the social and political sciences, art, music, and literature. For at the same time, in order to regain the national prestige lost during German occupation, they are concerned as much with making their cultural heritage known and understood by others as catching up where they have fallen behind in the advancement of knowledge.

It is possible that one of the important tasks of UNESCO, in its close relationship with the United Nations, will be to prepare safeguards against the development of cultural relations programs which pave the way for political domination or territorial expansion, while furthering in every way possible the development of peaceful and cooperative cultural relations among peoples. "The imaginative and skillful development of such relations by any nation, can make a sure contribution toward world peace," stated the report of the British Council for 1945.

The months following the Second World War did not bring peace to the peoples of a war-torn world. While the progress of the United Nations and of UNESCO in developing world organizations to meet the pressing post-war needs was heartening during the autumn of 1946, the world was still filled with international mistrust and fear.

"If suspicion and fear as between the peoples of the world have become immediate and present dangers, it follows that international trust and confidence are no longer ideal goals to be realized in some utopian future, but present and urgent and inescapable necessities to be realized at once and by every available means. One such means is by a direct attempt to remove the ignorance and prejudice upon which fear and suspicion feed and to replace them with the knowledge and understanding which give rise to a sense of common humanity and therefore of common interests and therefore of a common life," stated Archibald MacLeish, then Chairman of the United States Delegation, and at the present writing, Repre-

sentative of the United States on the UNESCO Executive Board, in his report to the Secretary of State on the Conference for the Establishment of a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, held in London in November, 1945.

In summary, we may say that the peoples throughout the world seem agreed upon the importance of mobilizing those forces which give promise of building trust and confidence among all nations. In a world torn by diverse and conflicting political and social philosophies, it is difficult to find a middle ground. Admittedly government programs of cultural relations abroad have been used as instruments of aggression. Such programs are dangerous to the freedom-loving peoples of the world, unless they are understood and unless adequate measures are taken to offset them. On the other hand, they have been used by some countries as measures for creating a better atmosphere of mutually beneficial cooperation among nations. Recent experience in the United Nations has apparently indicated that, while differences cannot be entirely reconciled, the fullest possible understanding of the problems involved is of vital importance to the growth of peaceful relationships.

If these bilateral programs of "national interpretation" abroad are based on the truth and on the presentation of facts, and if they are directed by the best minds of the several countries, they give promise of making a valuable contribution to lasting peace.

Finally, there is hope that the United Nations and UNESCO, through their initiation of plans for furthering international activities, will move toward world understanding in the widest sense.

Notes

CHAPTER II

1. Henry Boucher, Rapport fait au nom de la Commission du Budget chargée d'examiner le projet de loi portant fixation du Budget général de l'Exercice 1901. Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1900. No. 1871.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Francis de Pressensé, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1904. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1903. No. 1196.
4. Paul Deschanel, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1907. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1906. No. 333.
5. Fernand Dubief, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1903. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1902. No. 604.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Deschanel, *op. cit.* No. 333.
8. Paul Deschanel, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1910. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Journal officiel. Documents parlementaires. Chambre. 1909. No. 2749.
9. Raiberti, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1919. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1919. No. 6339.
10. Deschanel, *op. cit.* No. 2749.
11. Deschanel, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1911. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1910. No. 361.
12. Deschanel, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1912. . . . Affaires

- Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1911. No. 1237.
13. René Viviani, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1912. . . . Instruction publique. Journal officiel. Documents parlementaires. Chambre. 1911. No. 1946.
 14. Louis Marin, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1914. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1913. No. 3318.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Raiberti, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1919. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1919. No. 6339.
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. Noblemaire, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1920. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1920. No. 802.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. Noblemaire, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1922. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1922. No. 4792.
 26. Joseph Paganon, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1928. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1927. No. 4875.
 27. Noblemaire, *op. cit.* No. 4792.
 28. Joseph Paganon, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1931-32. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1930. No. 3862.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. Adrian Dariac, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1933. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1933. No. 1535.
 32. *Ibid.*

33. Léon Archimbaud, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1937. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Impressions de la Chambre des Députés. 1936. No. 1279.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. Léon Archimbaud, Rapport . . . Budget . . . 1938. . . . Affaires Etrangères. Journal officiel. Chambre des Députés. 1937. No. 2845.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. Abel Gardey, Rapporteur général de la Commission des finances. Journal officiel. Débats parlementaires. Sénat. Séance du 30 Décembre. 1939.
44. Journal Officiel de l'Etat français. Etats annexés à la loi portant fixation du budget général de l'exercice. 1942. 1 Janvier, 1942.
45. Journal Officiel de l'Etat français. Etats annexés à la loi portant fixation du budget général de l'exercice. 1944.
46. Journal Officiel de la République française. Documents de l'Assemblée Consultative Provisoire. Annexe No. 243. 6 Février, 1945.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. Journal Officiel. Annexes aux Débats de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante. Commission des Finances et du Contrôle budgétaire. C.F. No. 2. 21 Mars, 1946.
50. Journal Officiel. Annexes aux Débats de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante. Commission des Finances et du Contrôle budgétaire. C.F. No. 9. 8 Juin, 1946.
51. Journal Officiel. 14 Juillet, 1946. Présidence du Gouvernement. Décret No. 46-1624 du 1 Juillet, 1946.
52. Journal Officiel. Lois et decrets. 31 Mai et 1^{er} Juin, 1946. Tableau des Dotations du Budget Général (Services Civils) pour le exercice 1946, à la date du 1^{er} Mai, 1946.

CHAPTER III

1. Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande. Allgemeiner Deutsche Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Auslande. Berlin. 1904.
2. Germany. Reichstag. Reichshaushalts-Etat für das Jahr 1875. Anlage III. Etat für das Auswärtige Amt.
3. Reichstag. Reichshaushalts-Etat für das Jahr 1878-79. Etat für das Auswärtige Amt.
4. Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 8 März, 1879.
5. Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 18 März, 1899.
6. Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 6 März, 1901.
7. Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 19 März, 1903.
8. Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 31 März, 1909.
12. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 31 März, 1911.
13. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 16 April, 1913.
14. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 9 Dezember, 1913.
15. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. 9 Dezember, 1913.
16. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Addresses to the German Nation. Translated by R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull. Chicago and London. 1922.
17. Verhandlungen der verfassungsgebenden deutschen Nationalversammlung. 4 März, 1919.
18. Verhandlungen der verfassungsgebenden deutschen Nationalversammlung. 7 Oktober, 1919.
19. Verhandlungen der verfassungsgebenden deutschen Nationalversammlung. 16 Oktober, 1919.

20. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 17 März, 1921.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 1 Juli, 1921.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Preussen. Preussischer Landtag. 24 Februar, 1922.
25. I. L. Kandel, and T. Alexander, The Reorganization of Education in Prussia. Studies of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University. New York. 1927. Also: Aussaat. Deutsches Lesebuch für höhere Schulen von Dr. W. Scheel. Fünfte Abteilung. Obertertia. Berlin. 1925.
26. Preussischer Landtag. No. 8195. Mündlicher Bericht über den Haushalt des Ministeriums für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. Rechnungsjahr. 1924.
27. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 18 Mai, 1925.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 13 Juni, 1925.
30. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 24 Juni, 1929.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung im Preussen. Herausgegeben im Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. Erlass vom 5.10.1928—U II 16736 U III C.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Zentralblatt. Erlass vom 2.8.1929—U II 1018 U III C 1.
36. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 25 Juni, 1930.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. E. W. Bohle, Das Auslandsdeutschtum. Band 22. Grundlagen, Aufbau und Wirtschaftsordnung des Nationalsozialistischen Staates. Herausgegeben von Dr. H. H. Lammers, Reichsminister und Chef der Reichskanzlei und Hans Pfund-

- ter, Staatssekretär im Reichsministerium des Innern. Berlin. 1939.
40. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 10 Februar, 1931.
 41. Verhandlungen des Reichstags. Stenographische Berichte. 17 März, 1931.
 42. Bohle, *op. cit.*
 43. Dr. Emil Ehrich. Die Auslands-Organisation der N.S.D.A.P. Schriften der deutschen Hochschule für Politik. Heft 13. Berlin. 1927.
 44. Baldur von Schirach, Die Hitler-Jugend, Idee and Gestalt. Berlin, 1934.
 45. Bohle, *op. cit.*
 46. Ehrich, *op. cit.*
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. Jahrbuch der Auslands-Organisation der Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiterpartei. 1942. Herausgegeben von der Leitung der Auslands-Organisation de N.S.D.A.P.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. Saxton Bradford, Deutsche Auslandspropaganda. Department of State Bulletin. February 24, 1946.
 51. Jahrbuch der Auslands-Organisation.
 52. Verfügungen, Anordnungen, Bekanntgaben. III Band. Herausgegeben von der Partei-Kanzlei. Munchen. 1943. Ausenpolitische und Zwischenstaatliche Betätigungen der N.S.D.A.P. V 19/42 vom 4.11.1942 (RVBI).
 53. Bradford, *op. cit.*
 54. Assistant Secretary Braden, Lost Remnants of National Socialist Ideology. (An address delivered before the University Club in New York on Jan. 19, 1946.) Department of State Bulletin. January 27, 1946.
 55. Henry J. Kellermann, The Present Status of German Youth. Part II. Department of State Bulletin. July 21, 1946.

CHAPTER IV

1. Tokyo: Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan. League of Nations Association of Japan. 1939.

2. Gilberto Freyre, "Some Aspects of the Development of Portuguese America," Concerning Latin America, edited by Charles C. Griffin. New York. 1940.
3. Madrid: Cultura Hispano-Americana. April, 1913.
4. Tokyo: Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan. League of Nations Association of Japan. 1939.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Osaka: Domei radio despatch in English, June 11, 1943.
9. Radio Tokyo broadcast in Portuguese to Brazil and the rest of Ibero America [F50 957].
10. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English to Greater East Asia Zone, July 12, 1943.
11. Tokyo: Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan. League of Nations Association of Japan. 1939.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Radio Tokyo: Japanese Home and Empire Service, July 3, 1943.
18. Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to America, March 22, 1944.
19. Radio Tokyo broadcast in Cantonese to China and South Seas, March 22, 1944.
20. Tokyo: Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan. League of Nations Association of Japan. 1935.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Radio Tokyo: Japanese Home and Empire Service, November 11, 1943.
26. Tokyo: Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan. League of Nations Association of Japan. 1939.
27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Radio Tokyo: Japanese Home and Empire Service, November 1, 1943.
34. Academic and Cultural Organizations in Japan. 1939.
35. Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to United States, December 23, 1943.
36. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch, December 30, 1943.
37. Radio Tokyo broadcast in Malayan to Indonesia. F 71136.
38. Hsinking: Japanese Home and Empire Service broadcast, October 8, 1943.
39. Tokyo: Japanese Home Service broadcast, September 17, 1943.
40. Tokyo: Japanese Home Service broadcast, June 22, 1943.
41. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English to European Zone, July 17, 1943.
42. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English to American Zone, June 29, 1943.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Tokyo: Japanese Home Service broadcast, June 14, 1943.
45. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English to East Asia Zone, June 29, 1943.
46. Radio Tokyo broadcast in Italian to Europe [F 60542].
47. Tokyo: Domei news despatch in English to European Zone, October 5, 1943.
48. Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to the Western United States and Ibero America, June 18, 1943.
49. Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to Western United States and Ibero America, June 18, 1943.
50. Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to Western United States, February 3, 1944.
51. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English to American Zone, September 10, 1943.
52. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English to America, September 21, 1943.

53. Manila: Station PIAN broadcast in English to the Philippines, November 17, 1943.
54. Washington: The Washington Post, September 1, 1945.
55. Radio Tokyo broadcast in Japanese to South Asia, November 15, 1943.
56. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in Japanese to India, February 4, 1944.
57. Radio Tokyo broadcast in Spanish to South America, October 8, 1944.
58. Radio Tokyo: Japanese Home and Empire Service, May 1, 1945.
59. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in Spanish to South America, April 7, 1943.
60. Macassar: broadcast in Malayan to Indonesia, June 17, 1943.
61. Radio Tokyo broadcast in Italian to Europe, September 21, 1943.
62. Radio Tokyo: Church News Hour broadcast in English to Western United States [F 20147].
63. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English to European Zone, December 28, 1943.
64. Tokyo: Domei news despatch in English, December 22, 1942.
65. Tokyo: Radio Tokyo broadcast in Japanese to North America, October 8, 1943.
66. Tokyo: Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to the Americas, March 27, 1943.
67. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in English, October 25, 1943.
68. Tokyo: Radio Tokyo, Japanese Home Service broadcast, April 24, 1944.
69. Berlin: Radio Berlin broadcast to North America, November 22, 1942.
70. Tokyo: Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to North America, August 17, 1943.
71. Tokyo: Radio Tokyo broadcast in English to the Americas, April 28, 1943; and Rangoon: Radio Rangoon broadcast to India, January 5, 1943.
72. Berne: Der Neue Tag, March 9, 1945.

73. Tokyo: Domei radio despatch in Spanish to South America, October 7, 1943.
74. New York: New York Times, May 8, 1944.

CHAPTER V

1. U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Weekly News Bulletin (in English). Moscow. No. 34-35. September 1, 1928.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. U.S.S.R. Weekly News Bulletin, published by the Press Section of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (in English, French, and German). No. 33-34. August 26, 1929.
5. *Ibid.*
6. U.S.S.R. Weekly News Bulletin, published by the Press Section of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. No. 1-2. January 14, 1929.
7. *Ibid.*
8. U.S.S.R. VOKS, published by the Soviet Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. No. 1-3. January, February, 1930.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Soviet Culture Bulletin, published by the Soviet Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS). No. 6-7. October 25-November 7, 1931.
11. *Ibid.*
12. New York Times, November 25, 1933.
13. The Times, October 20, 1941. London.
14. Information Bulletin. Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Washington. January 8, 1944.
15. VOKS Bulletin. U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. No. 6. 1944.
16. New York Herald Tribune, October 1, 1944.
17. Tass. Broadcast from Moscow, April 9, 1944.
18. Excelsior. F.D. Mexico, May 17, 1944.

19. Tiempo. F.D. Mexico, October 13, 1944.
20. El Popular. F.D. Mexico, June 14, 1944.
21. New York Times, January 27, 1945.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Association France-U.R.S.S. Manifeste aux Français et Françaises. Entreprise française de Presse. Paris. 1945.
24. Statuts de l'Association France-U.R.S.S. Entreprise française de Presse. Paris. 1945.
25. Pravda, May 18, 1945.
26. Oslo Radio (N.I.B.), June 30, 1945.
27. Moscow Radio (Soviet Home Service), June 12, 1945.
28. Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Information Bulletin. Vol. V. June 23, 1945. Washington, D. C.
29. VOKS Bulletin. U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Nos. 9-10. 1945.
30. Cultura Soviética. Magazine of the Mexican-Russian Institute of Cultural Interchange. September, 1945.
31. Sergius Yakobson, The Library of Congress, Its Russian Program and Activities. 1946.
32. New York Herald Tribune, July 7, 1946; and Christian Science Monitor, June 21, 1946. Boston.
33. New York Times, June 30, 1946.
34. Radio Moscow, June 12, 1945, as recorded by Federal Communications Commission. (The material on Pan-Slavism [references 34 to 47] was supplied through the courtesy of Mr. Louis Nemzer.)
35. K Brat'vam Ugnetenym Slavyanam ("To Brother Oppressed Slavs"), Stenographic Report of the First All-Slav Meeting. Moscow: State Publishing House for Political Literature. 1941.
36. Slavyane, June, 1942. No. 1.
37. New York Times, May 10, 1943, p. C-5; and Information Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy, May 13, 1943.
38. New York Times, April 28, 1942.
39. The American Slav, August, 1942.
40. Moscow Trud, August 11, 1944.
41. Slobodna Rec, September 6, 1945. (A Pittsburg Serbian-language newspaper).

42. Radio Sofia, March 2, 1945, as recorded by Federal Communications Commission.
43. The Evening Star. Washington. August 24, 1945.
44. Slavyane, October-November, 1942. Nos. 5-6.
45. For example, a lecture by Regent Pavolov, entitled "Slavism in the World of Science and Philosophy," was carried over the Bulgarian radio (Radio Sofia, Bulgarian Home Service, March 1, 1945, as recorded by Federal Communications Commission).
46. Radio Moscow, in English, May 12, 1945, as recorded by the Federal Communications Commission.
47. Soviet Radio, August 9, 1945; Bulgarian Radio, April 12, 1945; Moscow Izvestiya, September 30, 1941; Washington Daily News, August 7, 1945; and New York Daily Worker, November 6, 1944.
48. Izvestiya, October 24, 1946.
49. Moscow News, October 23, 1946.
50. Information Bulletin. September 4, 1946.
51. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1946.
52. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1946.
53. The Washington Post, June 4, 1946.
54. The Washington Post, June 15, 1946.
55. The Washington Post, July 12, 1946.
56. Cultura Soviética, August, 1946. Mexico.
57. New York Times, September 27, 1946.

CHAPTER VI

1. James Duane Squires, *British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.
2. Wickham Steed, *The Fifth Arm*. London, 1940.
3. The Times, March 20, 1935. London.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. The Times, March 23, 1935. London.
7. The Times, March 26, 1935. London.
8. The Times, July 4, 1935. London.

9. The British Council, Report by Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., of activities from April 1, 1936 to July 15, 1937. 32 Chesham Place, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. February 7, 1938. Vol. 331.
12. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. February 16, 1938.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. The Select Committee on National Expenditure, 1940.
17. The British Council, Report for 1940-1941. London.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. February 18, 1941.
21. *Ibid.*
22. The British Council, Report for 1940-1941.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. The British Council, Report for 1941-1942. (For the Year Ending March 31, 1942).
32. The British Council, Report for 1942-1943.
33. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. July 7, 1942. Vol. 331.
34. The British Council, Report for 1943-1944.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. War Time Trading Bulletin. Vol. 5. Bulletin 100. British

- Council Survey and Annual Review of 1943. Official Survey No. 20. London. 1944.
39. The British Council, Report for 1944-1945.
 40. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. May 18, 1945.
 41. *Ibid.*
 42. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. December 17, 1945.
 43. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. March 7, 1946.
 44. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Lords. Official Reports. February 27, 1946.
 45. The British Council, Report for 1945-1946.
 46. The Times, November 22, 1946. London.
 47. The British Council, Report for 1945-1946.
 48. *Ibid.*
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. Monthly Review of the British Council. July 1, 1946.
 52. The British Council, Report for 1945-1946.
 53. *Ibid.*
 54. Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Debates. House of Commons. Official Reports. June 6, 1946.
 55. The British Council, Report for 1945-1946.
 56. Monthly Review of the British Council. July 1, 1946.
 57. B.I.S. Facilities offered by British Information Services. B.I.S., 1946.
 58. Monthly Review of the British Council. July 1, 1946.
 59. Monthly Review of the British Council, September 1, 1946.
 60. Monthly Review of the British Council, October 1, 1946.
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. Monthly Review of the British Council. November 1, 1946.
 63. Monthly Review of the British Council. October 1, 1946.
 64. The Times, November 22, 1946. London.
 65. The Economist. London. November 30, 1946.
 66. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VII

I. Chile

1. Madrid: Gaceta de Madrid, January 16, 1907.
2. Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Literary Currents in Hispanic America*. New York: 1945.
3. Amanda Labarca Hubertson, "Educational Development in Latin America," *Concerning Latin American Culture*, edited by Charles C. Griffin. 1939.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Eugenio María de Hostos, "Temas Sudamericanas," *Obras Completas* (Vol. VII). Habana: 1939.
6. Santiago: *Diario Ilustrado*, February 28, 1944.
7. Santiago: La Comisión Chilena de Cooperación Intelectual. 1943.
8. *Ibid.*

II. Argentina

9. Buenos Aires (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto): *Boletín Bibliográfico Argentino*, May, 1942.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Buenos Aires (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto): *Boletín Bibliográfico Argentino*, May, 1944.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Rio de Janeiro: *Jornal do Commercio*, June 7, 1942.
15. Berne: Radio Berne broadcast in English to North America, July 15, 1942.
16. Buenos Aires: *Memoria de la Comisión Nacional de Cooperación Intelectual*, 1945. 1946.

III. Brazil

17. Bailey W. Diffie, *History of Latin American Culture*. Harrisburg: 1945.
18. Rio de Janeiro: *Jornal do Commercio*, May 23, 1944.
19. Guatemala: *Station Voz de Guatemala* broadcast in Spanish, April 16, 1945.

20. Rio de Janeiro (Ministério de Educação e Saude): Romeo e Julieta by William Shakespeare, translated by Onestaldo de Pennafort, 1940.
21. Rio de Janeiro: A Manhã, January 25, February 3, 1945; and Rio de Janeiro: Folha Carioca, February 7, 1945.
22. Rio de Janeiro: Correio da Manhã, May 23, 1944.
23. Rio de Janeiro: Gazeta de Noticias, March 7, 1944.
24. Rio de Janeiro: A Manhã, May 25, 1944.
25. Rio de Janeiro: Gazeta de Noticias, June 15, 1944.
26. Rio de Janeiro (Ministerio das Relações Exteriores): Decreto No. 12,343 de 5 de Maio de 1943 in Regimento da Secretaria de Estado das Relações Exteriores, 1943.

IV. Mexico

27. Mexico (Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores): Informe Presidencial, Parte Relativa al Ramo de Relaciones Exteriores. 1922.
28. Mexico (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores): Informe Presidencial Correspondiente a 1924-25 presentado al H. Congreso de la Union: Labores de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. 1925.
29. Muna Lee de Muñoz Marín, Río Piedras (University of Puerto Rico), Art in Review. 1937.
30. Lima: La Crónica, March 22, 1943.
31. Bogotá: El Tiempo, December 9, 1944.
32. Caracas: El Universal, February 22, 1945 and Ultimas Noticias, February 23, 1945.
33. Caracas: El Herald, December 11, 1943.
34. Bogotá: El Espectador, May 25, 1945.
35. Caracas: El Nacional, May 1, 1944; Rio de Janeiro: Gazeta de Noticias, June 14, 1944; and Mexico: El Nacional, June 23, 1944.
36. Bogotá: El Espectador, November 8, 1944.
37. Montevideo: El Tiempo, September 5, 1944.
38. New York: The New York Times, March 15, 1944.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Mexico: Bulletin of the Summer School, National University of Mexico. 1945.

41. Alfonso Reyes, *Pasado Inmediato y Otros Ensayos*. Mexico (El Colegio de México): 1941.
42. Alfonso Reyes, *Tentativas y Orientaciones*, Mexico: 1944.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Washington: Department of State. Departmental Order 367, July 27, 1938.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Washington: Government Printing Office. Department of State Publication 1594. Inter-American Series 19. The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations. 1941.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Washington: Government Printing Office. Treaty Series No. 928. Inter-American Cultural Relations. Convention between the United States of America and Other American Republics. 1938.
6. Inter-American Series 19. The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations.
7. Washington: Department of State. Report of the Division of Cultural Relations for December, 1941 [mimeographed document].
8. *Ibid.*
9. Figures supplied to authors by Division of International Exchange of Persons, Department of State, September, 1946.
10. Washington: Executive Order 8840 of July 30, 1941.
11. Inter-American Series 19. The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations.
12. Washington: Government Printing Office. Department of State Publication 1702. Inter-American Series 21. The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations, 1941-42. 1942.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Washington: Department of State. Office of Public Affairs. America—"a Full and Fair Picture." The Government's Information and Cultural Relations Program Overseas. April, 1946.
15. *Ibid.*

16. Washington: Department of State. The Record: The Cultural Relations Attaché. June, 1945.
17. Washington: Department of State. Report of the Activities of the Division of Cultural Relations. September, 1941 [typescript].
18. Washington: Department of State. Progress Report, Division of Cultural Relations. April, 1943 [mimeographed document].
19. NBC nationwide radio broadcast by Archibald MacLeish. April 7, 1945.
20. The Record: The Cultural Relations Attaché. June, 1945.
21. Dorothy Greene and Sherly Goodman Esman, Cultural Centers in the Other American Republics. Washington: Government Printing Office. Department of State Publication No. 2503.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. The Program of the United States in Cultural Relations, 1941-42.
25. Kenneth Holland, The Information and Cultural Relations Policy of the United States. Harris Memorial Foundation Lecture, July 19, 1946. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946.
26. Haldore Hanson, The Cultural-Cooperation Program, 1938-1943. Washington: Government Printing Office. Department of State Publication 2137. 1944.
27. Washington: Government Printing Office. Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Seventy-Seventh Congress, First Session, relative to a Trip Taken by the Members of the Subcommittee to South and Central America. December 4, 1941.
28. Hanson: The Cultural-Cooperation Program, 1938-1943.
29. Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations.
30. Washington: Department of State. Departmental Order 1281. July 1, 1944.
31. Washington: Department of State. Division of Cultural Cooperation. A Justification Statement for Enabling Legislation

- for Program of Technical and Cultural Cooperation. 1945 [mimeographed document].
32. Washington: Department of State. Departmental Order 1281. July 1, 1944.
33. *Ibid.*
34. A Justification Statement . . . 1945.
35. Washington: Government Printing Office. Department of State Publication 2323. Inter American Series 25. Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation. January 1, 1945.
36. Washington: Department of State Bulletin Vol. XV, No. 377 (September 22, 1946). Government's Role in Assisting International Cooperation between Scientific Groups. Address delivered before the American Chemical Society in Chicago, by Raymund L. Zwemer.
37. Washington: Department of State. Office of Public Affairs. America—"a Full and Fair Picture." April, 1946.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Washington: Department of State. Departmental Regulation 132.10. Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. December 31, 1945.
41. Washington: Work and Problems of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. An address by Wm. T. Stone delivered at the Department of State September 17, 1946.
42. America—"a Full and Fair Picture."
43. Hanson: The Cultural Cooperation Program, 1938-1943. (Figures for 1944-45 supplied by Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation.)
44. *Ibid.*
45. America—"a Full and Fair Picture."
46. *Ibid.*
47. Address by Hon. William Benton before American Hospital Association, Philadelphia, September 30, 1946.

Index

- Abrahart, Bertram, 169
 Adams, Sir Ronald, as Chairman of British Council, 171, 181; on post-war future of British Council, 172
 Afghanistan, and cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 135
 Aguirre, José Antonio de, 6
 Akkoyunlu, Dr. Zeki, 176
 Algeria, Ciro, *El Mundo es ancho y ajeno*, Russian translation of, 119
 Alemán, President Miguel, 193
 Allgemeiner Deutsche Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschums im Auslande, 43
 Alliance française, purpose of, 12; mentioned, 20, 32
 Alliance israélite, 20
 All-Slav Committee, 131-32
 All Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. *See* VOKS
 American Association for an International Office for Education, 232
 American Library Association, distributes books to Latin American Republics, 218
 "American schools," 217
 Amos, Sir Maurice, *British Justice*, 158
 Anglophil Societies, 152 ff. *passim*, 157, 159, 167, 179
 A.O. *See* Auslands-Organisation
 Aranha, Graça, 195
 Archimbaud, M., on French cultural expansion, 26 ff. *passim*
 Arciniegas, Germán, *Los Comuneros*, Russian translation of, 119
 Arenberg, Prince von, on German schools and libraries abroad, 41-42
 Argentina, cultural relations program of, 187 ff.; and cultural relations with Brazil, 188-89, 194-95; and cultural relations with Spain, 189-90; and cultural relations with Switzerland, 190; and cultural relations with other American Republics, 190-91
 Argentine-British Medical Center, 171
 Argentine Cultural Relations Attachés, duties of, 193-94

- Argentine National Commission of Culture, 190
- Argentine National Commission of Intellectual Cooperation, book program of, 187 ff. *passim*; cultural interchange program of, 191-92
- Argentine Division of Foreign Information, 188
- Arnold, Matthew, and use of word "culture," 2
- Association France-Amérique, 36
- Association France-Grande-Bretagne, 20
- Association France-Grande-Bretagne-Etats-Unis, 36
- Association France-U.R.S.S., purpose of, 125; founders of, 126; mentioned, 36
- Association of Great Asia, 86
- Attlee, Clement R., on post-war information services, 165-66
- Auslands-Abteilung. *See* Auslands-Organisation
- Auslands-Organisation, and nazification of Germans living abroad, 63, 70; educational activities of, 66; welfare work of, 66-68, 71; publications of, 68, 71; radio work of, 69; use of movies by, 69; Latin American activities of, 72-73; during German invasion of Europe, 73-74; mentioned, 62. *See also* Foreign Division of National Socialist Party and Hitler Youth
- Auswärtiges Amt. *See* German Foreign Office
- Azcárate, General Juan F., 203
- Balfour, Sir Arthur, 138
- Ba Maw, organizes Japanese cultural institute at Rangoon, 104-5
- Bandourin, Professor, 168
- Barbirolli, John, conducts concert at Salzburg Festival, 178
- Barker, Sir Ernest, *British Universities*, 179
- Bartlett, Vernon, 169
- Basque country, cultural program of, 6
- Bauer, Chancellor, urges cultural contact with Germans living abroad, 48-49
- BBC. *See* British Broadcasting Corporation
- Bello, Andrés, and Chilean public education, 183; mentioned, 184
- Benjamin Franklin Library (in Mexico), 216
- Benton, William, charts program for OIC, 226; on importance of cultural relations, 229; on United States participation in UNESCO, 234-35; mentioned, 135
- Bernstorff, Count von, on German cultural expansion, 54
- Bethmann-Holweg, Chancellor, on German cultural expansion, 46-47
- Bismarck, Prince von, 43
- Bloom, Congressman Sol, and "cultural relations bill," 228-29
- Boelitz, Dr., urges cultural contacts with Germans living abroad, 52
- Bohle, Gauleiter, on Nazi activities abroad, 63, 65; mentioned, 62, 77
- Bolívar, 183

- Botvinnik, Miguel, 129
 Boucher, M., quoted, 9
 Braden, Spruille, on post-war activity of Nazis, 76
 Bradford, Saxton, on German activities in Latin America, 72-73
 Bragg, Sir Lawrence, 169
 Brazil, and cultural relations with Netherlands, 6; and cultural relations with France, 19-20; German cultural activities in, 68; and cultural relations with Argentina, 188-89, 194-95; and cultural ties with Portugal, 194; cultural relations program of, 194 ff.; and cultural relations with Guatemala, 195; and cultural treaty with Panama, 196; and cultural treaty with Canada, 196; and cultural relations with other Latin American republics, 197
 Brazilian Division of Intellectual Cooperation, 194 ff. *passim*
 Brazilian National Institute of the Book, 195, 196
 Brazilian Ministry of Education, 195-96
 Brazil Institute of Education, Science, and Culture, 198
 British Board of Education, works with resident foreigners, 33; and Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, 231
 British Book Export Scheme, 153, 167
 British Broadcasting Corporation, as propaganda medium, 144; mentioned, 154, 164
 British Central Office of Information, 166, 172, 174, 237
 British Council for Relations with Other Countries, established, 4, 138; works with resident foreigners, 33, 160-61; members of, 138-39; aims of, 140 ff. *passim*, 150, 152-53; funds for, 141, 143, 151, 164, 165, 180, 181; educational activities of, 141, 143, 159, 163, 168, 169, 175 ff. *passim*; and books, etc., 143, 153-54, 158, 167, 179; importance of, 147; distinguished from British Ministry of Information, 148; organization of, 149-50; and art, 154, 171, 178; broadcasting activities of, 154; film program of, 154-55, 158, 170-71; lecture program of, 156, 169, 176-77; and the theatre, 156, 169, 178; music program of, 156, 178; distribution of news by, 156-57; and scientific advancement, 157, 179; accomplishments of, 159-60, 166 ff., 244; and overseas trade, 162; future of after World War II, 164-65, 171-72, 181, 237; foreign guests of, 167-68, 176; duties of, 173, 174; suggestions for the improvement of, 180-81; and Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, 231; and anti-British propaganda, 242; mentioned, 144, 187, 238
 British Cultural Relations Department, 172, 237
 British Department for Enemy Propaganda, 137

- British-foreign cultural societies, 143
- British Information Services, duties of, 173; American program of, 174-75; divisions of, 175; overlapping of work between British Council and, 181
- British Institutes, 143, 152 ff. *passim*, 163, 169
- British Ministry of Education, teacher exchange program of, 237-38
- British Ministry of Information, during World War I, 137; purpose of, 148; termination of, 166, 237; distinguished from British Council, 244; mentioned, 119, 164
- British Travel and Industrial Development Association, 144
- Browder, Earl, 131
- Brunner, Professor, 176
- Buenos Aires Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, provisions of, 210; mentioned, 209
- Bülow, von, on German cultural expansion, 41 ff. *passim*
- Burdenko, Nicholas, 129
- Burma, Japan's cultural influence on, 105-6
- Butler, Mr., on aims of British Council, 152
- Byrne, Father Patrick, and religious freedom in Japan, 96
- Byrnes, James F., 234
- Camacho, President Avila, 201 ff. *passim*
- Canada, and cultural treaty with Brazil, 196
- Caraza, Mercedes, 203
- Casa de España, 206-7
- Cassin, René, 126
- Catholic Church, and French schools abroad, 9, 10; in Japan, 94 ff. *passim*
- Cervantes Day, 238
- Chamberlain, A. Neville, on British publicity program abroad, 144
- Charlie Chaplin Festival at Moscow, 119
- Chavchavadze, George, 204
- Chile, cultural relations program of, 182 ff.; and cultural relations with other Latin American republics, 185-86; and cultural relations with Mexico, 202
- Chilean Commission of Intellectual Cooperation, 185-86
- China, German schools in, 46; and cultural relations with Japan, 83-84, 90-91; and cultural relations with the U. S., 214, 239-40; cultural program of, 239-40
- Citrine, Sir Walter, 119
- Colegio de México, 206, 207
- Columbus Day, 189, 238
- Comédie française, 169
- Comité des Amitiés Catholiques, 20
- Comité France-Amérique, 20
- Comité protestant, 20
- Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (in London), 33, 231-32
- Cooke, Juan, 89
- Coupland, Sir Reginal, 177
- Curie, Frédéric Joliot, 126
- Curie, Irène, 126
- Curtius, Dr., on Germanism abroad, 60, 61
- Czechoslovakia, German activity in, 71-72

- Dai Nippon Eiga Kyokai**, 86
Daito Bunka Kyokai, 84
Dante Alighieri Societies, 238
Dariac, M., on importance of French cultural relations program, 24-25
Darwin, Sir Charles, 179
Day of the Language, 238
"Day of the Race," 189, 238
Debret, 194
Deermann, Dr., urges government support to German schools abroad, 50-51
Deutsche Forschungsinstitut, Das, 80
Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens, 81
Deutsche Pädagogische Auslandsstelle, establishment of, 59
Dewey, John, quoted, 2
Direction des Relations culturelles, replaces Oeuvres françaises, 34
Dubief, M., pleads for French educational program abroad, 11
Eastern Uni-Cultural Society.
See Toa Dobunka
Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes (in New York), 33
Egolin, Professor, 126
Ehrenburg, Ilya, 135
Ehrich, Dr. Emil, on Auslands-Organisation, 63, 67 ff.
Eichhoff, Herr, recommends Reichstag support to German schools abroad, 45
Emyrs-Evans, Mr., on anti-British propaganda abroad, 144
Entwistle, W. J., 156
Evans, B. Ifor, *English Literature*, 179
Fichte, urges educational program for defeated Germans of World War I, 47
Finland, and cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 125
Finland-Soviet Union Society, 125
Florey, Howard, 176
Foreign British Societies, 143
Foreign Division of National Socialist Party, plans for, 60-61; and Nazi propaganda, 62-63; works with German citizens living abroad, 70-71; mentioned, 65, 67. *See also* Auslands-Organisation and Hitler Youth
France, cultural relations program of, 9 ff.; and cultural relations with Latin America, 11-12, 22-23; and cultural relations with Italy, 12-13; and cultural relations with Spain, 13; and cultural relations with Brazil, 19-20; and cultural relations with the U. S., 23-24; and cultural relations with Great Britain, 33; and cultural relations with Japan, 79; and cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 125-26. *See also* Oeuvres françaises
France-U.S.S.R. Association.
See Association France-U.R.S.S.
Franklin, Benjamin, Spanish translation of autobiography of, 219
French Committee of National Liberation, cultural relations

- program of, 33-34; and Conference of Allied Ministers, 231
- French Direction des Relations Culturelles, replaces Oeuvres françaises, 34; arranges art exhibition in Great Britain, 171
- French *foyers*, 20
- French Indo-China, and cultural relations with Japan, 82-83
- French Institute of London, 14, 28, 33, 37
- French Institutes, 12 ff. *passim*, 27 ff. *passim*
- French *lycées*, 19-20, 23, 27, 29-30
- French Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 16
- French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cultural activities of. *See* Service d'Information et de Presse and Oeuvres françaises
- French Ministry of Information, 37-38
- French Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, overseas educational program of, 12-14, 17-18; mentioned, 16
- French Provisional Government, cultural activities of, 34-38, 242
- Freytag-Loringhoven, Baron von, urges more funds for German cultural activities abroad, 59-60
- Fulbright, Senator J. William, heads American delegation to London, 161; and the "Fulbright Bill," 223-24; introduces resolution to support UNESCO, 232
- Galaktionov, General M. R., 135
- García Lorca, Federico, Russian translation of poems and plays of, 119
- Garundo, Gonzalo Salud, 203
- George, Lloyd, rejects British program of peacetime propaganda, 137
- Georgian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, 134-35
- Gerasimov, Alexander, 129
- German Foreign Office, and German schools abroad, 40-42, 58; and cultural relations abroad under Weimar republic, 49; proposes cultural advisory council, 51; responsibility of in fostering Germanism, 60; and Nazi cultural activities, 75
- German Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, 75-76, 236
- Germany, cultural relations program of, 39 ff., and cultural activities in China, 46; and cultural activities in Latin America, 54, 68, 72-73; and cultural activities in Czechoslovakia, 71-72; and cultural relations with Japan, 80-82. *See also* Auslands-Organisation, Hitler Youth, and Foreign Division of National Socialist Party.
- Germany Eastern-Asia Society, 81
- Gervais, M., pleads for French educational program abroad, 10-11
- Goebbels, 75
- Gorcke, Dr., reports to Reichs-

- tag on German schools abroad, 46
- Gouin, Félix, 126
- Graham, William, makes donation to British Council, 141
- Great Britain, and cultural relations with France, 33; and cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 119, 135-36; cultural relations program of, 137 ff.; and cultural relations with Poland, 170; and cultural relations with Latin America, 171; and cultural relations with the U. S., 174-75, 237-38; and cultural relations with Norway, 177-78
- Greater East Asia Ancient Culture Federation, 90-91
- Greater East Asia Convention, 89-90
- Great Oriental Cultural Association, 84
- Grotrian, Sir Herbert, makes donation to British Council, 141
- Guatemala, and cultural relations with Brazil, 195
- Gundarov, Alexander, 132
- H**all, George, on future of British Council, 164-65
- Hayes and Immer, *Methods of Plant Breeding*, Spanish translation of, 219
- Higashi-Kuni, Premier Prince Naruhiko, urges Japan to cooperate with other peoples, 109
- Higham, T. F., 156
- Hitler, admiration for British propaganda, 146; mentioned, 70, 77, 118
- Hitler Youth, purpose and activities of, 64; athletic contests of, 74; post-war underground plan of, 76
- Homma, General Masaharu, urges Philippines to adopt Asiatic way of life, 107
- Hostos, Eugenio María de, and Chilean public schools, 184
- Huene, Baron Hoyningen, 176
- Hungary, and cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 126-27
- Imperial Romaji Club, 84-85
- Inouye, Masako, 100
- Institute of Mexican-Russian Cultural Interchange, 130
- Institute of Oriental Culture, 84
- Instituto de Alta Cultura Brasil-Holanda, 6
- Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Mexicano-Ruso, 123
- Instituto Italo-Giapponese, 82
- Isimoto, Dr. Misio, 82
- Italy, and cultural relations with France, 12-13; cultural relations program of, 27, 238; and cultural relations with Japan, 81, 82
- J**apan, cultural program of, 78 ff.; and cultural relations with France, 79; and cultural relations with Germany, 80-82; and cultural relations with Italy, 81, 82; and cultural relations with French Indo-China, 82-83; and cultural relations with China, 83-84; 90-91; and cultural activities in Latin America, 88-89; and cultural relations with Thailand, 100-4; and cultural in-

- fluence on Burma, 105-6;
and cultural influence on
Philippines, 107-8; and cul-
tural relations with the
U. S., 108-9
- Japan-China Educational As-
sociation, 83-84
- Japanese Cultural Treaty with
Thailand, text of, 100-4
- Japanese-German Institute, 80
- Japanese Institute of Art Re-
search, 85
- Japanese religious organiza-
tions, 88, 93, 97, 98
- Japanese Women's Overseas
Association, activities of, 85
- Japan-foreign cultural socie-
ties, listed, 82
- Japanisch-Deutsche Medizin-
ische Gesellschaft, 80
- Japan Student Association, 88
- Japonisch-Deutsche Kulturin-
stitut, 82
- Japonisch-Deutsche Verein, 81
- Jones, Creech, asks that work
of British Council be ex-
panded, 151
- Joxe, Louis, 38
- Jumet, Louis, 204
- Justin-Besançon, Dr. L., 126
- K**araganov, A. U., 126, 128
- Keith, A. Berridale, *The Brit-
ish Commonwealth*, 158
- Kemenov, Vladimir, expresses
hope for Soviet-Mexican
friendship, 135; mentioned,
128
- Kislova, Lydia, 128
- Koch, urges spread of German
culture abroad, 49-50
- Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 78
- Kokusai Gakuyu Kai, 86-87
- Komorov, 128
- Ku, C. S., on Asiatic culture,
89
- Kulz, Dr., on Germanism, 60
- L**ancaster, Joseph, and Chil-
ean education, 183
- Lancaster Society, 183
- Langevin, Paul, 126
- Latin America, and cultural re-
lations with France, 11-12,
22-23; German activities in,
54, 68, 72-73; Japanese
schools in, 88-89; and cul-
tural relations with U.S.S.R.,
120 ff., 133; and cultural re-
lations with Great Britain,
171; cultural cooperation be-
tween the republics of, 185-
86, 190-91, 197, 202-3; and
cultural relations with the
U. S., 208 ff. *passim*, 216 ff.,
222-23
- League of Nations, German
hope in, 55-56, 61; and the
Institute of Intellectual Co-
operation, 231; mentioned, 3,
202
- Lebreton, 194
- Lees-Jones, Mr., on supply of
British news abroad, 145-46
- Lerner, E., on Soviet relations
with other countries, 117
- Letelier, Valentín, Chilean
school named for, 184
- Liaison Committee for Inter-
national Education, 232
- Library of Congress, Russian
program of, 130-31
- Linares, Dr. Francisco Walker,
on Chilean Commission of
Intellectual Cooperation,
185-86
- Litvinov, M., 128
- Lloyd, Lord, as Chairman of
British Council, 143, 151

- Mann, Horace, and friendship with Sarmiento, 183
- Mann, Mrs., translates Sarmiento's *Facundo*, 183
- Maslarich, Bozhidar, 182
- Massine, Leonid, directs Mexican National School of Dancing, 204
- Masui, Mr. Yosiro, 82
- Matisse, 171
- McColvin, L. R., *British Libraries*, 179; mentioned, 176
- Maclagen, Sir Erich, 177
- MacLeish, Archibald, on importance of cultural relations, v ff., 246; emphasizes importance of U. S. Cultural Relations Attachés, 215
- Mendez, Francisco Serrano, explains Mexican project of cultural interchange, 204
- Meng, Dr., 240
- Mexican Commission of Intellectual Cooperation, 202
- Mexican Department of Publicity, 199-201
- Mexican "cultural embassies," 201, 203
- Mexican International Press Service Bureau, publications of, 201-2
- Mexican Ministry of Education, publication program of, 201, 202; cultural interchange program of, 204
- Mexican-Russian Cultural Institute, 128, 135
- Mexican-Venezuelan Cultural Convention, text of, 205-6
- Mexico, cultural relations program of, 198 ff.; and cultural relations with Chile, 202; and cultural relations with the U. S., 202, 206; and cultural cooperation with the other Latin American republics, 202-3; and cultural relations with Venezuela, 205-6; and cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 121 ff., 135
- Mikava, Nikolai, 134
- Mikhailov, Milhail, on Soviet-British relations, 136
- Mission laïque, 12, 20, 32
- Miterev, G. A., 128
- Miyina, Vera, 129
- Moraht, Consul General, 51
- More, Sir Thomas, and use of the word "culture," 2
- Morelos, José María, statue of, 203
- Moskvin, Ivan, 129
- Mundt, Congressman Karl E., introduces resolution to support UNESCO, 232
- Mussolini, Benito, 238
- Myaskovsky, Nicholas, 129
- Nagai, Matsuzo, on importance of cultural relations to Japan, 78
- Napoleon, 25, 54
- National Socialists, and cultural expansion. *See* Foreign Division of National Socialist Party, Auslands-Organisation, Hitler Youth, Verband deutscher Vereine im Ausland
- Nejedly, Zdenek, 132
- Netherlands, and cultural relations with Brazil, 6; cultural program of, 6-7
- Nicol, Jacques, 127
- Nicholson, Harold, on British propaganda program, 146
- Nijima, Joe, 94
- Nikka Gakkai, 83-84

- Nippon Bunka Chuo Renmei, 88
- Nippon Bunka Kaikan, meets with Cultural Federation of the Philippines, 107
- Nippon Cinema Foundation, 86
- Nippon Cultural Service Society, 91
- Nippon-German cultural agreement, 80-81
- Nippon-Italy Society, 82
- Niti-Doku-I Sinzen Kyokai, 81
- Noblemaire, M., 16 ff. *passim*
- Northcliffe, Lord, suggests British program of peacetime propaganda, 137
- Novikov, Nikoli, on U. S.-U.S.S.R. relations, 135
- Norway, and Germany's Auslands-Organisation, 73-74; and cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 126; and cultural relations with Great Britain, 177-78
- Norwegian-Russian Society, 126
- N.S.D.A.P. *See* Foreign Division of National Socialist Party
- Oeuvres françaises, funds for, 10, 11, 22-24, 25-27, 32-33, 34, 37, 38; educational activities of, 17, 18-20, 28-30; distribution of books by, 20, 30; American program of, 22-24; other activities of, 31-32; replaced by Direction des Relations culturelles, 34; mentioned, 35
- Office des Ecoles et des Universités françaises à l'étranger, 13, 18
- Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. *See* OIC
- Office of War Information. *See* OWI
- O'Higgins, and Chilean education, 183
- OIC, 220, 225 ff., 236
- Old Vic Company, 169, 178
- Orozco, Clemente, 202
- Orozco, Luis Chávez, on Mexican-U.S.S.R. cultural relations, 121 ff. *passim*
- Osaka Japan-Germany Society, 80
- Osaragi, Jiru, 99-100
- Oumansky, Ambassador Constantine, 122 ff. *passim*
- OWI, and radio, 220; abolished, 224; mentioned, 228, 237
- Osaki, Reverend Michio, pleads for Japanese-American friendship, 108
- Padilla, Ezequiel, 201
- Paganon, M., reports on Oeuvres françaises, 18 ff.
- Panama, and cultural treaty with Brazil, 196
- Papanin, Ivan, 129
- Parin, 126
- Paturi, Mrs. Mahomed, 99
- Paulsen, Dr. Friedrich, urges spread of German culture abroad, 43-45
- Petrov, F. N., on VOKS, 115-16
- Percy, Lord Eustace, on work of British Council, 142-43
- Philippines, and cultural influence of Japan, 107-8
- Picasso, 171
- Pinto, Fernao Mendes, first European account of Japan by, 78

- Poland, and cultural relations with Great Britain, 170
- Portugal, and cultural ties with Brazil, 194
- Precechtal, Professor, 176
- Price, John, *British Trade Unions*, 158
- Prince of Wales (Edward), as patron of British Council, 141, 142
- Prize of the Argentine Republic, 188
- Prize of the United States of Brazil, 188
- Prokofieff, Sergius, 129
- Purves-Stewart, Sir James, 156
- R**aiberti, M., on importance of French cultural relations, 15-16
- Rathbone, Miss, on work of British Council, 151
- Red Army Choir, 125
- Reyes, Alfonso, on relation of culture to democracy, 207
- Ribbentrop, Joachim von, 75
- Richtofen, Dr. Freiherr von, on aid to German schools abroad, 42
- Robertson, Sir Malcolm, appointed fourth Chairman of British Council, 158; on work of British Council, 159, 244; resigns as British Council Chairman, 166
- Robson, W. A., *The British System of Government*, 158
- Rocco, Señor Casal, 176
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., quoted, 1; mentioned, 117, 208, 213
- Rosas, 183
- Roussy, Gaston, 126
- Rumania, cultural relations with U.S.S.R., 126
- Russell, Sir John, *British Agricultural Research, Rothamsted*, 158
- Russo-Mexican Cultural Institute, 121-22
- Russ-Photo, 114
- S**amno, Nathan, and Japanese religious propaganda, 95-96
- Sargeant, Sir Malcolm, conducts concert at Lucerne Festival, 178
- Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino, and Chilean education, 183-84
- Sawade, Renzo, urges Burmese to study Japanese culture, 105
- Schiele, Dr., champions German cultural relations abroad, 54-55
- Schirach, Baldur von, on Hitler Youth, 64
- Schnee, Dr., on German cultural activities abroad, 60, 61
- Service des Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger. *See* Oeuvres françaises
- Service d'Information et de Presse, 17, 21
- Services du Conseiller Culturel (in New York), 37
- Shakespeare, William, Armenian festival honoring, 119; *Romeo and Juliet*, translated in Brazil, 195
- Shimizu, Mrs., 99
- Shostakovich, Demetrius, 120, 129
- Simonov, Konstantin, 135
- Siqueiros, David Alfaro, 202
- Smith, Edwin, 127

- Société Franco-Japonaise, 79
 Society for Germanism
 Abroad, 52
 Solf, Ambassador, 80
 Soviet anti-Fascist organizations, 133
 Soviet-foreign societies, 113, 127
 Soviet-Iranian Society, 124
 South America. *See* Latin America
 Spain, and cultural relations with France, 13; and cultural relations with Argentina, 189-90; cultural relations program of, 238-39
 Stalin, expresses hope for Soviet-British friendship, 135-36; mentioned, 127
 Steinbeck, John, *The Moon Is Down*, Russian translation of, 119
 Stokowski, Leopold, conducts Mexican Symphony Orchestra, 204
 Stresemann, Dr., on Germanism abroad, 48, 53-54, 56-57; and League of Nations, 55
 Suchov, Boris, 131
 Svensk Institutet, 239
 Sweden, cultural relations program of, 239
 Switzerland, and cultural relations with Argentina, 190
 Szentgyoergyi, 127
 Taft, Senator Robert, introduces resolution to support UNESCO, 232
 Taikoku Romaji Klub, 84-85
 Tate Gallery, 171, 178
 Taunay, 194
 Thailand, and cultural relations with Japan, 100-4
 Thompson, James, and Chilean education, 183
 Thomson, Virgil, on Soviet music, 119-20
 Toa Dobunka, 83
 Tolstoy, Alexis, 129, 131
 Torres Bodet, Jaime, 201
 Troyanovsky, Alexander, urges friendship between U.S.S.R. and U. S., 117-18
 Truman, Harry, abolishes Office of Inter-American Affairs and OWI, 224; mentioned, 135
 Tsitsin, 126
 Tweedsmuir, Lord, on post-war status of British Council, 166
 Tyrrell, Lord, and British Council, 138, 140-41, 142
 Uchida, Kiyotaka, on Japan's "war for culture," 90
 UNESCO, plans for, 161, 232; established, 230-31; constitution of, 233-34; member nations of, 235; relation of to bilateral cultural relations programs, 235, 246; mentioned, 173, 198, 247
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and cultural relations with the U. S., 117-18, 124, 133-34, 135; and cultural relations with Great Britain, 119, 135-36; and cultural relations with Latin America, 120 ff., 133; and cultural relations with Mexico, 121 ff., 135; and cultural relations with Finland, 125; and cultural relations with France, 125-26; and cultural relations with Rumania, 126; and cultural re-

- lations with Norway, 126;
and cultural relations with
Hungary, 126-27; and cul-
tural relations with Afghan-
istan, 135; attitude of to-
ward international cultural
cooperation, 232, 241-42
- United Nations Educational,
Scientific, and Cultural Or-
ganization. *See* UNESCO
- United Nations Organization,
cultural activities of. *See*
UNESCO
- United States, and cultural re-
lations with France, 23-24;
and cultural relations with
Japan, 108-9; and cultural
relations with the U.S.S.R.,
117-18, 124, 133-34, 135;
and cultural relations with
Great Britain, 174-75, 237-
38; and cultural relations
with Mexico, 202, 206; and
cultural relations with Latin
America, 208 ff. *passim*,
216 ff., 222-23; and cul-
tural relations with China,
214, 239-40
- United States Coordinator of
Commercial and Cultural
Relations between the Amer-
ican Republics. *See* United
States Coordinator of Inter-
American Affairs
- United States Coordinator of
Inter-American Affairs, re-
sponsibilities of, 213; ex-
tends grant-in-aid to Amer-
ican Library Association,
218; translation program of,
219-20; and radio, 220; of-
fice of abolished, 224; men-
tioned, 237
- "United States cultural insti-
tutes," 216
- United States Cultural Rela-
tions Attaché, 214-15
- United States Department of
State, cultural relations pro-
gram of, 210 ff., 234. *See
also* United States Division
of Cultural Cooperation,
United States Division of
Cultural Relations, OIC
- United States Division of Cul-
tural Cooperation, three
basic principles of, 221-22;
mentioned, 223, 225. *See also*
United States Division of
Cultural Relations
- United States Division of Cul-
tural Relations, established,
4; objectives of, 208, 209-
10; activities of, 208-9, 214,
216, 221. *See also* United
States Division of Cultural
Cooperation
- United States Interdepart-
mental Committee on Coop-
eration with the American
Republics, 208, 222-23
- United States Interdepart-
mental Committee on Scien-
tific and Cultural Coopera-
tion, 208, 222-23
- United States Interim Infor-
mation Service, 224-25, 228
- United States International
Broadcasting Division, 220-
21
- United States International
Motion Picture Division, 221
- United States Motion Picture
and Radio Division, 220
- United States National Com-
mittee on Inter-American In-
tellectual Cooperation, 209

- United States Office of Education, teacher exchange program of, 237-38
- University of Chile, importance of in Latin America, 183 ff. *passim*
- V**aldivieso, Dr. Alberto Salinas, 192
- Venezuela, and cultural relations with Mexico, 205-6
- Verband deutscher Vereine im Ausland, 68-69
- Versailles, Treaty of, German resentment at, 47
- VOKS, established, 110-11; program of, 112, 114, 129-30; welcomes foreign visitors, 113, 127; book exchange program of, 113-14, 120; need for in developing Soviet Union, 115-16; three basic problems of, 116; sends cultural emissaries to Rumania, 126; *Chronicles* of, 130; mentioned, 124, 133
- Vsesoyuznoe Obschestvo Kul'turnoi Svyazi s Zagranitse. *See* VOKS
- W**akefield, Lord, aids British Council, 141, 154
- Waksman, Selman, 134
- Wallace, Henry, 201
- Wasilewska, Wanda, 131
- Weaver, Dr. J. R. H., 156
- Weimar Republic, and German cultural relations, 47 ff.
- Wells, H. G., *Russia of the Shadows*, 115
- Whitney, and use of word "culture," 2
- Winterton, Earl, on need for British Council, 146-47
- Wright, Mr., 176
- Y**asusaburu, comments on Japan's "war for culture," 90
- Yokoyama, Masayuki, on cultural relations between Japan and French Indo-China, 82-83

